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HAMILTON, LOCKE AND CLARK SERIES.

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SELECT ORATIONS

OF

CICERO.

THE

FOUR ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE

WITH AN

*Interlinear Translation on the Hamiltonian System.*

BY

WILLIAM UNDERWOOD,

SON-IN-LAW AND PARTNER OF THE LATE HAMILTON.

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THE

SEVEN REMAINING ORATIONS,

WITH AN

INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION ON THE SYSTEM OF LOCKE

BY

THOMAS CLARK.

PHILADELPHIA:

DAVID MCKAY, PUBLISHER,

604-8 SOUTH WASHINGTON SQUARE.

(FORMERLY PUBLISHED BY CHARLES DeSILVER & SONS.)

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1885.

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## P R E F A C E .

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IN this interlinear translation of Cicero, the four orations against Catiline are translated, according to the Hamiltonian system, by Underwood, the son-in-law and partner of Hamilton. The London edition of these four orations has been carefully revised, and the errors and omissions corrected and supplied; for without the greatest care on the part of the editor, errors and omissions are very apt to occur in interlinear translations.

As these four orations against Catiline constitute so small a portion of the present publication, it may be considered as almost altogether an original interlinear translation of the select orations of Cicero; and that nearly on the plan suggested by the great poet and distinguished Latin scholar, Milton, and the celebrated metaphysician and writer on education, Locke.

The orations expressly translated by the American editor of this Philadelphia edition are: the ORATIO PRO ARCHIA POETA—PRO MARCELLO—PRO LEGE MANILIA—PRO L. MURENA—PRO Q. LIGARIO—PRO REGE DEIOTARIO—PRO T. ANNIO MILONE. Thus making a more complete collection of select orations of Cicero than any published in the United States; containing all

the orations that are read in any of the schools and colleges of this country, and comprising all those in the editions of Anthon, Bullions, Johnson, and others.

As a mere verbal translation would be inadequate to convey the meaning of Cicero in his orations, it has become necessary to add thereto. When such additions only express the thought of the author more intelligibly in English, they are denoted by being placed between parentheses ( ), and constitute a part of the sentence; but when such additions are, as it were, explanations, and do not properly constitute a part of the sentence, they are placed between brackets [ ], and may be considered as short explanatory notes. This applies only to those orations translated by the American editor.

When several words in English are necessary to express a Latin word, such words are united together by hyphens, as :

Quod nuntiaret

What might-he-announce

but when, in forming an English sentence, a word intervenes between such two or more words that denote a Latin one, the figure ' is placed before the words thus separated, as :

Palam fecerat testamentum.

'He-had openly 'made (his) will.

This also only applies to the orations translated by the American editor.

THOMAS CLARK.

# TESTIMONIALS

AS TO

## THE MERITS OF

### The Interlinear Translation of the Classics.

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*Testimony of celebrated men in favour of the interlineary system of translations, as being best adapted for learning a language.*

MILTON. — We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together as much Latin and Greek as might be learned easily and delightfully in one year.

If, after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the *praxis* thereof in some chosen short book *lessoned thoroughly to them*, [that is, read and translated to them], which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most natural and most profitable way of learning languages.

[Children] should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. Next, to make them expert in the usefulest points of grammar, some easy and delightful book should be read to them.

[By this, Milton means that the teacher should read some easy Latin book to his pupils, and translate and explain it repeatedly, until they understand such Latin book, and can themselves translate it.]



JOHN LOCKE, author of the "Essay on the Human Understanding."—When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the schoolmaster's rod, which they look on as the only instrument of education; as a language or two to be his whole business. How else is it possible that a child should be chained to the oar, seven, eight, or ten of the best years of his life, to get a language or two, which, I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of pains and time, and be learned almost in playing.

[The first project of Locke] is to trouble the child with no grammar at all, but to have Latin as English has been, without the perplexity of rules, talked into him, for, if you will consider it, Latin is no more unknown to a child, when he comes into the world, than English; and yet he learns English without a master, rule, or grammar; and so might he Latin, too, as Tully did, if he had somebody always to talk to him in this language. And when we so often see a French woman teach an English girl to speak and read French perfectly in a year or two, without any rule of grammar, or anything else but prattling to her, I cannot but wonder how gentlemen have overseen this way for their sons. If, therefore, a man could be got, who, himself speaking good Latin, would always be about your son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak and read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propose, not only as the easiest and best, wherein a child might, without pains or chiding, get a language which others are wont to be whipt for at school six or seven years together; but also as that wherein, at the same time, he might have his mind and manners formed, and be instructed in all other parts of knowledge of things that fall under the senses, and require little more than memory. But if such a man cannot be got who speaks good Latin, the next best thing is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easy and pleasant book, such as *Æsop's Fables*, and writing the English translation (made as literal as can be) in one line, and the Latin words which answer each of them, just over it in another. These let him read every day, over and over again, till he perfectly understands the Latin; and then go on to another Fable

till he is also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that to keep it in his memory.

The formation of the verb first, and afterwards the declensions of the nouns and pronouns, perfectly learned by heart, facilitate his acquaintance with the genius and manner of the Latin tongue, which varies the signification of verbs and nouns, not as the modern languages do, by particles prefixed, but by changing the last syllable. More than this of grammar, I think, he need not have, till he can read himself Sanctii Minerva.

As he advances in acquiring a knowledge of words, he must advance, *pari pasu*, in obtaining a thorough and critical knowledge of grammar. When by this way of interlining Latin and English one with another, he has got a moderate knowledge of the Latin tongue, he may then be advanced a little farther, to the reading of some other easy Latin book, such as Justin, or Eutropius; and, to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself with the English translation. Nor let the objection, that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for, this way of learning a language. For languages are only to be learned by rote; and a man who does not speak English and Latin perfectly by rote, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his tongue, of course without thought of rule or grammar, falls into the proper expression and idiom of that language, does not speak it well, nor is master of it. Languages were made, not by rules of art, but by accident, and the common use of the people; and he that speaks them well has no other rule but that, nor anything to trust to but his memory, and the habit of speaking, after the fashion learned from those that are allowed to speak properly, which, in other words, is only to speak by rote.

**SYDNEY SMITH.**—The Hamiltonian system, on the other hand: 1st. Teaches an unknown tongue by the closest interlinear translations, instead of leaving a boy to explore his way by the lexicon or dictionary. 2d. It postpones the study of grammar till a considerable progress has been made in the language, and a great degree of practical grammar has been acquired. 3d. It substitutes the cheerfulness and competition of the Lancasterian

system for the dull solitude of the dictionary. By these means a boy finds he is making a progress, and learning something from the very beginning. He is not overwhelmed with the first appearance of insuperable difficulties; he receives some little pay from the first moment of his apprenticeship, and is not compelled to wait for remuneration till he is out of his time. The student, having acquired the great art of understanding the sense of what is written in another tongue, may go into the study of the language as deeply and as extensively as he pleases. The old system aims at beginning with a depth and accuracy which many men never will want, which disgusts many from arriving even at moderate attainments, and is a less easy, and not more certain road to a profound skill in a language, than if attention to grammar had been deferred to a later period.

In fine, we are strongly persuaded that, the time being given, this system will make better scholars; and, the degree of scholarship being given, a much shorter time will be needed. If there is any truth in this, it will make Mr. Hamilton one of the most useful men of his age; for, if there is anything which fills reflecting men with melancholy and regret, it is the waste of mortal time, parental money, and puerile happiness, in the present method of pursuing Latin and Greek.

PRIMA ORATIO  
 THE FIRST ORATION  
 MARCI TULLII CICERONIS IN LUCIUM  
 CATILINAM,  
 OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO AGAINST  
 LUCIUS CATILINE,

HABITA IN SENATU.  
 HELD (DELIVERED) IN THE SENATE.



1. QUOUSQUE	tandem	abutère	nostrâ
How far	at length	wilt thou abuse	with our
patientiâ, Catilina?	Quamdiu etiam iste tuus		
patience, O Catiline?	How long also that thy		
furor eludet nos?	ad quem finem effrenata		
fury will (it) elude us?	to what end (thy) unbridled		
audacia jactabit sese?	ne nocturnum		
audacity will (it) boast itself?	whether the nightly		
præsidium Palatii	(movit) te		
guard of the Palatium	(has (that) moved) thee		
nihil	vigiliæ urbis		
nothing (has that in no respect affected thee),	the watches of the city		
(moverunt) nihil, timor populi			
have (they) moved (thee); nothing, the fear of the people			
nihil, concursus omnium bonorum			
(has that moved thee) nothing, the assemblage of all the good			
nihil, hic munitissimus locus			
(has that moved thee) nothing, this most fortified place			
senatûs habendi			
of a senate to be held (of holding a senate) (has that moved thee)			
nihil, ora que vultus horum move			
nothing, the faces and looks of these (senators) have (these)			

runt nihil? Sentis non tua consilia  
 moved (thee) nothing? Perceivest thou not thy counsels

patere? Vides non tuam conjurationem  
 to be open (to be exposed)? Seest thou not thy conspiracy

jam teneri constrictam conscientiâ omnium  
 already to be held bound by the consciousness of all

horum? Quem nostrum arbitraris  
 these (senators)? Whom of us supposest thou

ignorare quid egeris proximâ,  
 to be ignorant what thou mayest have acted on the nearest

quid superiore nocte, ubi fueris,  
 (last night), what on the former night, where thou mayest have been

quos convocaveris, quid consilii  
 whom thou mayest have called together, what of counsel

ceperis? O tempora! O mores. Senatus  
 thou mayest have taken? O the times! O the manners. The senate

intelligit hæc, consul videt, tamen hic vivit.  
 understands this, the consul sees (it), yet this (Catiline) lives.

Vivit? imo, verò; etiam venit in senatum. Fit  
 Lives? yes, truly; even comes into the senate. He becomes

particeps publici consilii: notat et designat  
 a partaker of the public counsel: he notes and marks out

oculis unumquemque nostrum ad cædem.  
 with (his) eyes each of us to (for) slaughter

Autem nos fortes viri videmur satisfacere reipublicæ,  
 But we brave men seem to do enough for the republic

si vitemus furorem, ac tela istius.  
 if we may avoid the fury, and the weapons of that (Catiline).

Oportebat te, Catilina, jampridem duci ad  
 It did behove thee, O Catiline, long since to be led to

mortem jussu consulis: istam pestem,  
 death by order of the consul: (it behoved) that pest (destruction),

quam tu machinaris jam diu in nos omnes,  
 which thou contrivest already a long time against us all,

conferri in te. Verò an amplissimus  
 to be brought upon thee. But whether the most ample (most hon-

vir, P. Scipio, maximus pontifex, privatus  
 (durable) man, P. Scipio, the greatest priest, (as) a private (person)



interfecit Tiberium Gracchum, mediocriter labe-  
 slew Tiberius Gracchus, moderately making

factantem statum reipublicæ: verò nos consules  
 to totter the state of the republic: but we consuls,

perferemus Catilinam cupientem vastare orbem  
 shall we endure Catiline desiring to lay waste the globe

terræ cæde, atque incendiis? Nam  
 of the earth with slaughter, and with conflagrations? For

prætereo illa nimis antiqua, quodd Q. Servilius  
 I pass over those too ancient (examples) that Q. Servilius

Ahala occidit suâ manu Spurium Melium,  
 Ahala killed with his own hand Spurius Mellius,

studentem novis rebus. Ista  
 studying for new things (having revolutionary designs). That

virtus fuit, fuit quondam in hac republicâ, ut  
 virtue has been, has been once in this republic, that

fortes viri coërcerent perniciosum civem acrioribus  
 brave men would check a pernicious citizen with sharper

suppliciis quàm acerbissimum hostem. Enim  
 (more severe) punishments than the most bitter enemy. For

habemus vehemens et grave senatusconsultum  
 we have a vehement and heavy (severe) decree of the senate

in te, Catilina: non consilium neque auctoritas  
 against thee, O Catiline: not the counsel nor the authority

hujus ordinis deest reipublicæ; nos dico  
 of this order (of the senate) is wanting to the republic; we I say

apertè, nos consules desumus.  
 openly we consuls are wanting (to it).

2. Senatus quondam decrevit, ut L. Opimius  
 The senate once decreed, that L. Opimius

consul videret, ne respublica caperet quid  
 the consul should see, lest the republic might take any (thing)

detrimenti: nulla nox intercessit; C. Gracchus,  
 of detriment: no night intervened; C. Gracchus,

clarissimo patre, avo, majoribus,  
 born from a most famous father, grandfather, (and) ancestors,

interfectus est propter quasdam suspiciones seditionum:  
 was slain because of some suspicions of seditions.

M. Fulvius, consularis, occisus est, cum liberia.  
 M. Fulvius, a consular (man), was killed, with (his) children

Simili senatusconsulto respublica permissa est  
 By a like decree of the senate the republic was permitted

C. Mario et L. Valerio consulibus; num  
 (confided) to C. Marius and to L. Valerius the consuls; whether

mors ac poena reipublicæ remorata est  
 death and the punishment of the republic retarded (fail to overtake)

L. Saturninum, tribunum plebis, et  
 L. Saturninus, tribune of the common people, and

C. Servilium, prætorem, unum diem postea? At nos  
 C. Servilius, the prætor, one day afterwards? But we

patimur aciem auctoritatis horum  
 suffer the edge of the authority of these (the senators)

hebecere jam vicesimum diem. Enim habemus  
 to become blunt already the twentieth day. For we have

senatusconsultum hujusmodi, veruntamen inclusum  
 a decree of the senate of this sort, nevertheless inclosed

in tabulis, tanquam gladium reconditum in vagina:  
 in the tablets, as if a sword hidden in the scabbard:

ex quo senatusconsulto convenit te, Catilina,  
 from which decree of the senate it was fit thee, O Catiline,

interfectum esse confestim. Vivis; et vivis  
 to have been slain immediately. Thou livest; and thou livest

non ad audaciam deponendam, sed ad  
 not to (for) audacity to be placed down, but to (for thy audacity)

confirmandam. Conscripti Patres, cupio me  
 to be confirmed. Conscript Fathers, I desire myself

esse clementem; cupio me non videri dissolutum  
 to be mild; I desire myself not to seem dissolute

in tantis periculis reipublicæ: sed jam  
 (negligent) in so great dangers of the republic: but now

condemno me ipsum inertiae que nequitiae.  
 I condemn myself of inactivity and of negligence.

Castra collocata sunt in Italiâ contra rempublicam,  
 Camps have been placed in Italy against the republic,

in faucibus Etruriæ: numerus hostium  
 in the jaws (passage) of Tuscany: the number of the enemies

crescit in singulos dies : autem videmus  
increases into single days (daily) : but we see

imperatorem eorum castrorum, que ducem hostium,  
the commander of those camps, and leader of the enemies,

intra moenia, atque adeo in senatu, molientem  
within the walls, and even in the senate, attempting

quotidie aliquam intestinam perniciem reipublicæ. S  
daily some intestine destruction to the republic. If

jussero te, Catilina, jam comprehendi ; si  
I shall have ordered thee, O Catilina, now to be seized ; if

interfici, credo, erit verendum  
(I shall have ordered thee) to be slain, I believe, it will be to be feared

mihi, ne omnes boni hoc factum esse  
to me (by me), lest all the good (may say) this to have been done

non serius à me, potius quam quisquam dicat  
not too late by me, rather than any (person) may say

crudelius. Verum ego nondum  
(it to have been done) too cruelly. But I not yet

adducor ut faciam hoc, quod oportuit factum esse  
am led that I may do this, which it has behoved to have been done

jampridem, de certâ causâ. Tum denique  
long since, from a certain cause. Then at last

interficiam te, cum jam nemo poterit inveniri  
I will slay thee, when now nobody will be able to be found

tam improbus, tam perditus, tam similis tui,  
so wicked, so lost (abandoned), so like of thyself,

qui fateatur non id factum esse jure.  
who may confess not that to have been done by right.

Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui audeat defendere te,  
As long as any (person) shall be, who may dare to defend thee,

vives ; et vives ita ut vivis nunc,  
thou shalt live ; and thou shalt live so as thou livest now,

obsessus meis multis et firmis præsidiiis, ne  
beset by my many and firm guards, lest

possis commovere te contra rempublicam.  
thou mayest be able to move thyself against the republic.

Etiam oculi et aures multorum speculabuntur atque  
Also the eyes and ears of many shall spy and

custodient te non sentientem, sicut fecerunt  
 shall watch thee not perceiving, so as they have done  
 adhuc.  
 hitherto.

3. Etenim quid est quod expectes jam  
 For what is it which thou mayest expect now  
 amplius, Catilina, si neque nox potest obscurare  
 more, Catiline, if neither night is able to conceal

tenebris nefarios cœtus nec privata domus  
 with darknesses (thy) impious assemblies, nor a private house

continere vocem tuæ conjurationis parietibus? si  
 to contain the voice of thy conspiracy with (its) walls? if

omnia illustrantur, si erumpunt? Muta  
 all (things) are brought to light, if they burst forth? Change

jam istam mentem: crede mihi: obliviscere cædis  
 now that mind: believe to me: forget of slaughter

atque incendiorum: teneris undique: omnia  
 and of conflagrations: thou art held on all sides: all

tua consilia sunt clariora nobis luce: quæ  
 thy counsels are clearer to us than light: which (things)

licet etiam recognoscas mecum. Ne  
 it is allowed even thou mayest recognise with me. Whether

meministi me dicere in senatu ante  
 hast thou remembered me to say in the senate before

duodecimum diem kalendarum Novembris, C. Manlium,  
 the twelfth day of the calends of November, C. Manlius,

satellitum atque administrum tuæ audaciæ, fore  
 the attendant and assistant of thy audacity, to be about to be

in armis certo die, qui dies esset futurus ante  
 in arms on a certain day, which day might be about to be before

sextum diem kalendarum Novembris? Num  
 the sixth day of the calends of November? Whether

Catilina non modo tanta, tam atrox, tam  
 Catiline not only so great, so atrocious, so

incredibilis res fefellit me, verum, id quod est  
 incredible a thing deceived me, but, that which is

multo magis admirandum, dies? Ego idem  
 by much more to be wondered at, the day? I the same (person)

dixi in senatu, te contulisse cædem  
said in senate, thee to have appointed the slaughter

optimistum in ante quintum diem kalendarum  
of the aristocracy unto (the day) before the fifth day of the calends

Novembris, tum cum multi principes civitatis  
of November, then when many chief (persons) of the state

profugerunt Româ, non tam causâ sui  
fled from Rome, not so (much) for the sake of themselves

conservandi, quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum.  
to be preserved, as of thy counsels to be repressed

Num potes  
(as for the sake of repressing thy designs). Whether art thou able

infitiari, te circumclusum meis præsiidiis, meâ  
to deny thyself being closed around by my guards, by my

diligentiâ illo die ipso, potuisse non commovere  
diligence on that day itself, to have been able not to move

te contra rempublicam? cum tu, discessu  
thyself against the republic? when thou, at the departure

cæterorum, dicebas te esse contentum tamen nostrâ  
of the rest, didst say thyself to be content yet with our

cæde qui remansissemus. Quid!  
slaughter (with the slaughter of us) who might have remained. What!

cum tu confideres te esse occupaturum Præneste  
when thou mightest trust thyself to be about to occupy Præneste

nocturno impetu kalendis ipsis Novembris:  
by a nocturnal attack on the calends themselves of November:

ne sensisti illam coloniam munitam esse  
whether hast thou perceived that colony to have been fortified

meo jussu, meis præsiidiis, custodiis, que vigiliis?  
by my order, by my garrisons, guards, and watches?

Agis nihil, moliris nihil, cogitas  
Thou actest nothing, thou attemptest nothing, thou thinkest (devisest)

nihil, quod ego non modo audiam non, sed etiam  
nothing, which I not only may hear not, but even

videam non, que planè sentiam.  
may see not, and plainly may perceive.

4. *Recognosce tandem mecum illam superiorem*  
Recognise (call to mind) at length with me that former



noctem : jam intelliges me vigilare multæ  
 night : now thou wilt understand me to watch by much  
 acrius ad salutem reipublicæ quam te ad  
 more sharply to (for) the safety of the republic than thyself to (for)  
 perniciem. Dico te venisse priori nocte  
 the destruction (of it). I say thee to have come on the former night  
 inter falcarios (agam  
 mong scythe-makers (into the scythe-maker's street) (I will act (speak)  
 non obscure), in domum M. Leccæ : complures  
 not obscurely, into the house of M. Lecca : (I say) many  
 socios ejusdem amentiaë que sceleris convenisse  
 partners of the same madness and crime to have come together  
 eodem. Num audes negare? Quid!  
 to the same place. Whether dardest thou to deny (it)? What!  
 taces? Convincam, si negas. Enim  
 art thou silent? I will convict (thee), if thou deniest. For  
 video quosdam esse hic in senatu qui fuere  
 I see some (persons) to be here in the senate who were  
 unâ cum te. O immortales dii! ubinam gentium  
 together with thee. O immortal gods! where of nations  
 sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam  
 (where in the world) are we? in what city do we live? what  
 rempublicam habemus? Sunt hic, hic in  
 republic have we? There are (persons) here, here in  
 nostro numero, conscripti patres, in hoc sanctissimo  
 our number, conscript fathers, in this most sacred  
 que gravissimo consilio orbis terræ, qui  
 and most weighty (dignified) council of the globe of the earth, who  
 cogitent de meo interitu, que  
 may devise concerning my destruction, and (the destruction)  
 nostrum omnium, qui de exitio hujus  
 of us all, who (devise) concerning the destruction of this  
 urbis, atque adeo orbis terrarum. Ego consul  
 city, and even of the globe of the earths. I the consul  
 video hosce, et rogo sententiam de republica:  
 see these (persons), and I ask opinion concerning the republic:  
 et vulnero eos nondum voce, quos oportebat  
 and I wound those not yet with (my) voice, whom it did behoove

trucidari ferro. Igitur, Catilina,  
to be slaughtered with the iron (sword). Therefore, Catiline,  
fuisti apud Leccam illâ nocte :  
thou wast at Lecca (at Lecca's house) on that night.  
distribuisti partes Italiæ; statuisti que  
thou distributedst the parts of Italy; thou appointedst whither  
placeret quemque proficisci; delegisti  
it might please (thee) each to depart; thou selectedst  
quos relinqueres Romæ, quos educeres  
whom thou mightest leave of (at) Rome, whom thou mightest lead out  
cum te; descripsisti partes urbis ad  
with thee; thou describedst parts of the city to (for)  
incendia; confirmasti te ipsum jam  
conflagrations; thou confirmedst (affirmedst) thyself now (soon)  
esse exiturum; dixisti esse etiam tum  
to be about to go out; thou saidst to be (that there was) even then  
paullulum moræ tibi, quod ego viverem. Duo  
a very little of delay to thee, because I might live. Two  
Romani equites reperti sunt qui liberarent te istâ  
Roman knights were found who might free thee from that  
curâ, et pollicerentur sese interfecturos  
care, and might promise themselves (to be) about to slay  
me in meo lectulo illâ nocte ipsâ, paullo ante  
me in my little bed on that night itself, a little before  
lucem. Ego comperi omnia hæc, etiam vestro  
light. I discovered all these (things), even your  
coetu vix dum dimisso: munivi atque  
assembly scarcely yet being dismissed: I fortified and  
firmavi meam domum majoribus præsidiiis;  
I strengthened my house with greater (stronger) guards;  
exclusi eos quos tu miseras ad me mane  
I excluded those whom thou hadst sent to me in the morning  
salutatam, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos  
to salute (me), when those (persons) themselves might have come, whom  
ego jam prædixeram multis ac summis viris  
I already had foretold to many and to the highest men  
esse venturos ad me id temporis.  
to be about to come to me (at) that of time.

5. Cum quæ sint ita, Catilina,  
 When (since) which (things) may be thus, Catilino,  
 perge quò cœpisti; egredere aliquando  
 proceed whither thou hast begun; go out sometimes  
 ex urbe; portæ patent, proficiscere: illa  
 (at length) out of the city; the gates are open, depart: those  
 tua Manliana castra desiderant nimium diu te  
 thy Manlian camps want too long thee (their)  
 imperatorem. Educ cum te etiam omnes tuos;  
 commander. Lead out with thee also all thy  
 si minus, quam plurimos: purga  
 (associates); if less (if not all), as many as possible: cleanse  
 urbem: liberabis me magno metu, dummodo  
 the city: thou wilt free me from great fear, provided that  
 murus intersit inter me atque te:  
 the wall (the city wall) may be between between me and thee:  
 potes non versari jam diutius cum nobis:  
 thou art able not to be engaged now longer with us:  
 feram non, patiar non, sinam non.  
 I will bear (it) not, I will suffer (it) not, I will permit (it) not  
 Magna gratia est habenda  
 Great favour is to be had (great thanks must be given)  
 immortalibus diis, atque huic Jovi Statori ipsi,  
 to the immortal gods, and to this Jupiter Stator himself,  
 antiquissimo custodi hujus urbis, quòd effugimus  
 the most ancient guardian of this city, that we have escaped  
 jam toties hanc tam tætram, tam horribilem  
 now so many times this so foul, so horrible  
 pestem que tam infestam reipublicæ. Summa salus  
 plague and so hostile to the republic. The highest safety  
 reipublicæ est non periclitanda sæpius in uno  
 of the republic is not to be endangered too often in one  
 homine. Quamdiu insidiatus es mihi, consuli  
 man. As long as thou plottedst against to me, the consul  
 designato, Catilina defendi me non publice  
 elect, Catiline I defended myself not by a public  
 præsidio, sed privatâ diligentia: cum proximis  
 guard but by private diligence: when at the nearest (last

consularibus comitiis voluisti interficere me, consulem,  
consular elections thou wishedst to slay me, the consul,

et competitores in campo,  
and (thy) competitors in the plain, (the Campus Martius),

compressi tuos nefarios conatus præsidio et copiis  
I repressed thy impious attempts with a guard and forces

amicorum, nullo tumultu concitato publice: denique,  
of friends, no tumult being excited publicly: lastly,

quotiescunque petisti me, obstiti tibi  
as often as thou hast sought (aimed at) me, I have opposed to thee

per me, quamquam videbam meam perniciem esse  
(by) myself, although I did see my destruction to be

conjunctam cum magnâ calamitate reipublicæ.  
conjoined with a great calamity of the republic.

Nunc jam petis universam rempublicam  
Even now thou seekest (aimest at) the whole republic

aperte. Vocas templa immortalium deorum,  
openly. Thou callest the temples of the immortal gods,

tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium,  
the roofs (houses) of the city, the life of all the citizens,

denique, totam Italiam, ad exitium et vastitatem.  
lastly (in fine), the whole Italy, to destruction and devastation.

Quare quoniam audeo nondum facere id, quod est  
Wherefore because I dare not yet to do that, which is

primum atque proprium hujus imperii  
the first and proper (peculiar duty) of this command (of the

que disciplinæ majorum:  
consular power) and of the discipline (custom) of (our) ancestors:

faciam id quod est lenius ad severitatem,  
I will do that which is milder to (as to) severity,

et utilius ad communem salutem; nam si  
and more useful to (as to) the common safety; for if

jussero te interfici, reliqua manus  
I shall have ordered thee to be slain, the remaining hand (band

conjuratorum residebit in republica: sin tu  
of the conspirators will settle in the republic: but if thou

exieris, (quod hortor te jamdudum), magna  
shalt have gone out (which I exhort thee long since), the great

et pernicioſa ſentina [reipublicæ], tuorum comitum,  
and pernicious ſink [to the republic], of thy companions,  
exhaurietur ex urbe. Quid eſt, Catilina?  
will be drawn off out of the city. What is it, Catiline?

Num dubitas facere id, me  
Whether doubtſt thou (doſt thou hesitate) to do that, me

imperante, quod jam faciebas  
commanding, which now (juſt now) thou diſt do (waſt about to do)

tuâ ſponte? Conſul jubet hoſtem exire  
by thy own accord? The conſul orders (thee) an enemy to go out

ex urbe: interrogas me, num in exilium? Jubeo  
out of the city: doſt thou aſk me, whether into exile? I order

non; ſed ſi conſulis me, ſuadeo.  
(thee) not; but if thou conſulteſt me, I perſuade (thee to do ſo).

6. Enim quid, Catilina, eſt, quod jam poſſit  
For what, Catiline, is there, which now may be able

delectare te in hâc urbe? In quâ eſt nemo,  
to delight thee in this city? In which there is no one,

extra iſtam conjurationem perditorum  
without (unconnected with) that conspiracy of loſt (aban-

doned) hominum, qui metuit non te; nemo qui  
men, who fears not thee; no one who

oderit non. Quæ nota domesticæ turpitudinis  
may have hated not (thee). What mark of domeſtic turpitude

eſt non inuſta tuæ vitæ? Quod dedecus privatarum  
is not branded to thy life? What diſgrace of private

rerum hæret non infamiæ? Quæ libido abſuit  
things adheres not to (thy) infamy? What luſt has been abſent

ab oculis, quod facinus umquam à  
from (thy) eyes, what bad deed (has been abſent) ever from

tuis manibus, quod flagitium a toto corpore?  
thy hands, what villany from (thy) whole body?

Cui adoleſcentulo, quem irretiſſes  
To what youth, whom thou mighteſt have enſnared

illecebris corruptelarum, tu prætulisti non  
by the allurements of debaucheries, thou haſt borne before not

aut ferrum ad audaciam, aut facem ad libidinem?  
either a ſword to (for) audacity, or a torch to (for) luſt?



**Vero quid!** **nuper cum morte**  
 But what (why shall I mention)! lately when at the death  
**superioris uxoris vacuefecisses domum**  
 of (thy) former wife thou mightest have made vacant (thy) house  
**novis nuptiis, ne cumulasti non hoc**  
 for new nuptials, whether hast thou heaped up (augmented) not this  
**scelus etiam alio incredibili scelere? Quod ego**  
 crime also by another incredible crime? Which I  
**prætermitto, et facile patior sileri, ne**  
 pass by (omit), and easily suffer to be kept silent, lest  
**immanitas tanti facinoris videatur aut**  
 the monstrousness of so great a wicked deed may seem either  
**extitisse in hac civitate, aut non vindicata esse.**  
 to have existed in this state, or not to have been punished.  
**Prætermitto ruinas tuarum fortunarum, omnes quas**  
 I pass by the ruins of thy fortunes, all which  
**senties impendere tibi proximis Idibus:**  
 thou wilt perceive to hang over to thee at the nearest (next) Ides:  
**venio ad illa quæ pertinent non ad privatam**  
 I come to those (things) which pertain not to the private  
**ignominiam tuorum vitiorum, non ad tuam domesticam**  
 disgrace of thy vices, not to thy domestic  
**difficultatem ac turpitudinem, sed ad summam**  
 difficulty and turpitude, but to the sum (the whole)  
**reipublicæ, atque ad vitam que salutem nostrum**  
 of the republic, and to the life and the safety of us  
**omnium.\* Ne lux hujus vitæ, aut spiritus hujus**  
 all. Whether the light of this life, or the breadth of this  
**cœli potest esse jucundus tibi, Catilina,**  
 heaven (atmosphere) is able to be pleasant to thee, Catiline,  
**cum scias, esse neminem horum**  
 when thou mayest know, to be (that there is) no one of these (sena-  
**tori) qui nesciat te stetisse cum**  
 (tors) who may not know thee to have stood (that you stood) with  
**telo in comitio pridie kalendas**  
 a weapon in the assembly house the day before the calends  
**Januarias, Lepido et Tullo consulibus?**  
 belonging to January, Lepidus and Tullus (being) consuls?

**Paravisse** **manum** **causâ** **consulum** **et**  
 To have prepared a hand (hand) for the sake of the consuls and  
**principum** **civitatis** **interficiendorum?** **Non**  
 of the chief (persons) of the state to be slain? Not  
**aliquam** **mentem,** **aut** **tuum** **timorem,** **sed**  
 any mind, or thy fear (fear of thee) but  
**fortunam** **reipublicæ** **obstitisse** **tuo** **scitæ**  
 the (good) fortune of the republic to have opposed to thy wickedness  
**ac furori?** **Ac jam** **omitto illa:** **enim** **neque**  
 and fury? And now I omit those (things): for neither  
**sunt** **commissa** **post** **obscura,** **aut non**  
 are (the crimes) committed (by thee) afterwards obscure, or not  
**multa.** **Quoties** **tu** **conatus es** **interficere** **me**  
 many. How often thou hast endeavoured to slay me  
**designatum;** **quoties** **consulem?**  
 (being consul) elect; how often (being) consul?  
**Quot** **tuas** **petitiones** **ita** **conjectas,**  
 How many thy aims (how many thrusts of thine) so cast (directed),  
**ut viderentur** **non** **posse** **vitari,** **ego** **effugi**  
 that they might seem not to be able to be avoided, I have escaped  
**quadam** **parvâ** **declinatione,** **et,** **ut** **aiunt,** **corpore?**  
 by a certain small bending, and, as they say, with the body?  
**Agis** **nihil,** **assequeris** **nihil,** **moliris** **nihil,**  
 Thou actest nothing, thou attainest nothing, thou attemptest nothing,  
**quod valeat** **latere** **mihi,** **in** **tempore:** **neque**  
 which may be able to lie hid from me, in the time: nor  
**tamen** **desistis** **conari** **ac** **velle.** **Quoties**  
 yet dost thou desist to endeavour and to wish. How often  
**jam** **ista** **sica** **extorta est** **tibi** **de**  
 now (already) that poniard has been wrested from thee from  
**manibus?** **Vero** **quoties** **excidit** **et** **elapsa est**  
 the hands? But how often it has fallen out and has slipped out  
**aliquo** **casu?** **Tamen** **potes** **non** **carere** **eâ**  
 by some accident? Yet thou art able not to be without it  
**diutius:** **quæ** **quidem** **quibus** **sacris**  
 longer: which (poniard) indeed to what sacred rites  
**initiatâ sit** **ac** **devota** **abs te** **nescio,** **quod**  
 it may have been initiated and devoted by thee I know not that

putas                    necesse                    defigere                    eam                    in                    corpore  
 thou thinkest (it)                    necessary                    to fix                    it                    in                    the body

consulis.

of the consul.

7. Vero nunc, quæ est ista tua vita? Enim jam

But now, what is that thy life? For now

loquar cum te sic, ut videar non esse permotus  
 I will speak with thee so, that I may seem not to be moved

odio                    quo                    debeo, sed ut  
 with the hatred with which I ought, but that (I may seem to be moved)

misericiordiâ, quæ nulla                    debetur tibi  
 with pity,                    which none (none of which) is due to thee.

Venisti paullo ante in senatum: quis ex hâc  
 Thou camest a little before into the senate: who out of this

tantâ frequentiâ, ex tot tuis amicis ac  
 so great assemblage, out of so many thy friends and

necessariis, salutavit te? Si hoc contigit nemini  
 acquaintances, saluted thee? If this has befallen to no one

post memoriam hominum, expectas contumeliam  
 after (since) the memory of men, dost thou wait for reproach

vocis cum sis                    oppressus                    gravissimo  
 of voice when thou mayst be (thou art) oppressed by the most heavy

judicio taciturnitatis? Quid,                    quod tuo  
 judgment of silence? Why (why should I mention), that at thy

adventu ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt? Quod omnes  
 arrival those seats were made vacant? That all

consulares,                    qui persæpe fuerunt constituti  
 the consular (persons), who very often have been appointed

tibi ad cædem, reliquerunt istam partem  
 to (by) thee to (for) slaughter, left that part

subselliorum nudam atque inanem simul atque  
 of the seats naked and empty as soon as

assedisti? Quo animo tandem putas hoc  
 thou satest near? With what mind at length dost thou think this

ferendum tibi? Mehercle, si mei servi metuerent  
 be borne to (by) thee? By Hercules, if my slaves might fear

me isto pacto,                    ut omnes tui cives  
 me by that agreement (in that manner), as all thy citizens

metuunt te, putarem meam domum  
 fear thee, I should think my house (ought)

relinquendam: arbitraris tu non urbem  
 to be left: thinkest thou not (that) the city (ought to be

tibi? Et, si viderem me tam graviter  
 left) to (by) thee? And, if I might see myself so heavily

suspectum atque offensum meis civibus injuriâ,  
 suspected and offensive to my citizens (even) with injustice,

mallem me carere aspectu civium quam  
 I would rather myself to be-without the sight of (my citizens), than

conspici infestis oculis omnium: cum tu  
 to be-viewed with the hostile eyes of all: when thou

agnoscas conscientiâ tuorum scelerum justum  
 mayst-recognise by a consciousness of thy crimes the just

odium omnium, et jam diu debitum tibi, dubitas  
 hatred of all, and now a-long-time due to thee, doubttest thou

vitare aspectum que præsentiam eorum,  
 (dost thou hesitate) to avoid the sight and the presence of those,

mentes que sensus quorum vulneras? Si tui  
 the minds and feelings of whom thou woundest? If thy

parentes timerent atque odissent te, neque  
 parents might-fear and might-have-hated thee, neither

posses placare eos ullâ ratione,  
 thou mightest-be-able to appease them by any reason (means),

concederes, ut opinor, aliquo ab oculis eorum:  
 thou shouldst-retire, as I think, some-whither from the eyes of them:

nunc patria, quæ est communis parens nostrâ  
 now the country, which is the common parent of us

omnium, odit ac metuit te; et jam diu  
 all, has-hated (hates) and fears thee; and already a long-time

judicat nihil de te, nisi cogitare  
 judges nothing concerning thee, unless to devise (that you devise)

le suo parricidio. Tu verebere neque  
 concerning her parricide (destruction). Wilt-thou-reverence neither

auctoritatem hujus, neque sequere  
 the authority of this (of her), nor wilt-thou-follow (her)

judicium, neque pertimesces vim? Quæ  
 judgment, nor wilt-thou-fear (her) force? Which

sic agit cum te, Catilina, et  
 (the country) thus acts (pleads) with thee, Catiline, and  
 quodammodo tacita loquitur. Nullum facinus  
 in some-manner silent speaks. No wicked-deed  
 exstitit jam aliquot annis, nisi per te; nullum  
 has-existed now (for) some years, unless through thee; ne  
 flagitium sine te: tibi uni necesse multorum  
 villany without thee: to thee one (alone) the deaths of many  
 civium, tibi vexatio que direptio sociorum  
 citizens, to thee (alone) the harassing and plundering of allies  
 fuit impunita ac libera: tu valuisti non solum  
 has been unpunished and free: thou hast-been-able not only  
 ad leges ac quaestiones negligendas, verum  
 to (for) laws and (judicial) inquiries to be neglected, but  
 etiam ad evertendas que perfringendas.  
 even to (for them) to be-overturned and to be-broken-through.  
 Quamquam illa superiora fuerunt non ferenda,  
 Although those former (villanies) have-been not to be borne  
 tamen tuli ut  
 (ought not to have been borne), yet I have borne (them), as  
 potui: vero nunc totam me esse in  
 I was-able: but now the whole myself (for my whole self) to be in  
 metu propter te unum; quidquid increpuerit,  
 fear because-of thee one (alone); whatever may-have-made-a-noise,  
 Catilinam timeri;  
 Catiline is to be-feared; (that Catiline should be the sole cause of  
 nullum consilium videri posse  
 fear in every disturbance); (for) no design to seem to be-able  
 iniri contra me, quod abhorreat  
 to be-entered-on against me, which may-abhor (be inconsistent with)  
 a tuo scelere; est non ferendum. Quamobrem  
 from thy crime; (this) is not to be-borne. Wherefore  
 discede, atque eripe hunc timorem mihi, ne  
 depart, and take away this fear from me, lest  
 opprimar, si est verus;  
 I may-be-oppressed (that I may not be oppressed), if it is a true (fear),  
 sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando desinam timere.  
 but-if false, that at-length sometimes I may-cease to fear.



8. Si patria loquatur hæc cum te, ut  
 If (thy) country may-speak these (things) with thee, as  
 dixi, ne debeat non impetrare,  
 I have-said, whether may-she-owe not (ought she not) to obtain  
 etiam si possit non adhibere vim?  
 (her request), even if she may-be-able not to apply force?  
 Quid? quod tu ipse dedisti te  
 What (why should I mention)? that thou-thyself hast-given thyself  
 in custodiam? Quid? quod causâ suspicionis  
 into custody? What (why)? that for-the-sake of suspicion  
 vitandæ, dixisti te velle habitare  
 to be-avoided, thou saidst thyself to wish (that thou wishedst) to reside  
 apud M. Lepidum? A quo receptus non, ausus es  
 at M. Lepidus? By whom being-received not, thou hast-dared  
 etiam venire ad me; atque rogasti ut  
 even to come to me; and thou askedst (me) that  
 asservarem te meæ domi: cum tulisses  
 I-would-guard you in my house: when thou mightest-have-borne  
 id responsum quoque a me, me  
 (thou hadst received) that answer also from me, myself  
 posse esse tuto nullo modo cum te  
 to be-able to be (that I could be) safely in no manner with thee  
 iisdem parietibus, qui essem in magno periculo,  
 in the same walls (of a house), who might-be in great danger,  
 quod contineremur iisdem mœnibus; venisti  
 because we might-be-contained in the same city-walls; thou camest  
 ad Q. Metellum, prætorem: a quo repudiatus,  
 to Q. Metellus, the prætor: by whom being-rejected,  
 demigrasti ad tuum sodalem, optimum virum,  
 thou wentest-over to thy companion, the best man  
 M. Marcellum, quem tu videlicet  
 (that very good man), M. Marcellus, whom thou forsooth  
 putasti fore et diligentissimum  
 thoughtest to be-about-to-be (would be) both most-diligent  
 ad te custodiendum et sagacissimum ad  
 to (for) thee to be-guarded (to guard thee), and most-sagacious to  
 suspicandum et fortissimum ad  
 (for) suspecting (thee) and most-brave to (for thee)

vindican-  
dum.

Sed quam longe videtur

to be-punished (for punishing thee). But how far does-he-seem

debere abesse a carcere atque a vinculis, qui  
to-ought to be-absent from prison and from bonds, whoipse jam judicaverit se dignum custodiâ?  
himself now (already) may have-judged himself worthy with custodyCum quæ sint ita, Catilina,  
(of custody)? When (since) which (things) may-be thus, Catiline,dubitas, si potes non morari hic  
doubtest thou (dost thou hesitate), if thou-art-able not to delay hereæquo animo, abire in aliquas terras, et  
with an equal mind, to go-away into some lands, andmandare istam vitam, ereptam multis justis  
to commit that life (of thine), rescued from many justque debitis suppliciis, fugæ que solitudini? Refer,  
and due punishments, to flight and to solitude? Refer,inquis, ad senatum (enim postulas id), et, si hic  
thou sayest, to the senate (for thou demandest that), and, if thisordo decreverit placere sibi,  
order (the senate) shall-have-decreed to please to itself, (that it pleaseste ire in exsilium, dicis te esse  
them), thee to go into exile, thou sayest thyself to beobtemperatum. Referam non id, quod abhorret à  
about-to-comply. I will-refer not that, which abhors frommeis moribus: et tamen faciam  
(is inconsistent with) my manners: and yet I will-makeut intelligas, quid hi sentiant  
that thou mayest-understand, what these (the senators) may perceivede te. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina:  
(think) concerning thee. Go-out out-of the city, Catiline:libera rempublicam metu: proficiscere in exsilium,  
free the republic from fear: depart into exile,si expectas hanc vocem. Quid est, Catilina?  
If thou waitest-for this voice (word). What is-it, Catiline?ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis silentium  
whether dost-thou-observe, whether dost-thou-perceive the silencehorum? patiuntur, tacent. Quid  
of these (senators)? they suffer (it), they are-silent. What (why

**expectas auctoritatem loquentium, voluntatem**  
 dost-thou-wait-for the authority of (them) speaking, the will

**quorum tacitorum perspicis? At si dixissem**  
 of whom (being) silent thou-plainly-seest? But if I might-have-said

**hoc idem huic optimo adolescenti,**  
 this same (thing) to this best (excellent) young-man,

**P. Sextio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello; jam**  
 P. Sextius, if to the most-brave man, M. Marcellus; now

**senatus intulisset vim et**  
 immediately) the senate would-have-brought-on (inflicted) force and

**manus optimo jure mihi consuli in hoc templo**  
 hands with the best right to me the consul in this temple

**ipso; autem cum quiescunt de te, Catilina,**  
 itself; but when they are-quiet concerning thee, Catiline,

**probant; cum patiuntur, decernunt; cum tacent,**  
 they approve; when they suffer (it), they decree; when they are-silent,

**clamant. Neque hi solum, auctoritas quorum**  
 they exclaim. Neither these (senators) alone, the authority of whom

**videlicet est cara tibi, vita vilissima; sed**  
 forsooth is dear to thee, (their) life (is) most cheap; but

**etiam illi Romani equites, honestissimi atque optimi**  
 also those Roman knights, most-honourable and best

**viri, que ceteri fortissimi cives, qui circumstant**  
 men, and the other most-brave citizens, who stand-around

**senatum, et frequentiam quorum tu potuisti videre,**  
 the senate, and the assemblage of whom thou hast-been-able to see,

**et perspicere studia, et paulo ante**  
 and to see-plainly (their) desires, and a little before (a little while

**exaudire voces: manus ac tela**  
 ago) to hear their voices (shouts): the hands and weapons

**quorum jam diu ego vix contineo abs te,**  
 of whom already a long-time I scarcely restrain from thee,

**adducam eosdem facile, ut**  
 I may-lead the same easily (I could easily induce the same), that

**prosequantur usque ad portas, te relinquentem**  
 they may-follow until to the gates, thee leaving

**hæc, quæ studes jampridem vastare.**  
 these (things), which thou studiest long-since to lay-waste.

9. Quamquam quid loquor? ut ulla res  
Although what (why) do I speak? that any thing

frangat te? ut tu umquam corrigas te? ut  
may-break thee? that thou ever mayst-correct thee? that

tu meditere ullam fugam? ut tu cogites ullum  
thou mayst-meditate any flight? that thou mayst-devise any

exsilium? Utinam immortales Dii duint istam  
exile? O that the immortal Gods may-give that

mentem tibi! Tametsi video, si perterritus meâ  
mind to thee! Although I see, if being-alarmed by my

voce induxeris animum ire in exsilium,  
voice thou shalt-have-induced (thy) mind to go into exile,

quanta tempestas invidiæ impendeat nobis,  
how-great a tempest of envy (unpopularity) may impend to us

si minus in præsens tempus, recenti  
(me), if-not unto (for) the present time, by the recent

memoriâ tuorum scelerum, at in posteritatem.  
memory of thy crimes, but unto posterity (at a future

Sed est tanti mihi;  
time). But it-is of so-much (consequence) to me (it is worth the

dummodo ista sit privata calamitas, et  
sacrifice); provided-that that may-be a private calamity, and

sejungatur a periculis reipublicæ. Sed est  
may-be-separated from the dangers of the republic. But it-is

non postulandum, ut tu commoveare tuis vitiis,  
not to be-demanded, that thou mayst-be-moved from thy vices,

ut pertimescas poenas legum, ut  
that thou mayst-fear the penalties of the laws, that

concedas temporibus reipublicæ; enim  
thou mayst-concede to the times (circumstances) of the republic; for

neque es is, Catilina, ut aut pudor  
either art-thou that (person), Catiline, that either shame

revocarit te a turpitudine, aut metus a  
may have-recalled thee from turpitude, or fear from

periculo, aut ratio a furore. Quamobrem proficiscere,  
danger, or reason from fury. Wherefore depart,

ut dixi jam sæpe: ac, si vis conflare  
as I have-said already often: and, if thou wishest to blow-together

invidiam mihi tuo inimico, ut  
 (produce) envy (unpopularity) to me thy enemy, as  
 prædicas; perge recta in exsilium: vix  
 thou declarest; proceed straightway into exile: scarcely  
 feram sermones hominum, si feceris id:  
 shall-I-bear the speeches of men, if thou-shalt-have-done that:  
 vix sustinebo molem istius invidiæ, si  
 scarcely shall-I-support the mass of that envy, if  
 ieris in exsilium jussu consulis:  
 thou shalt-have-gone in exile by the order of the consul:  
 sin autem mavis servire meæ laudi et gloriæ,  
 but-if thou wishest-rather to serve to my praise and glory  
 egredere cum importunâ manu sceleratorum;  
 go-out with (thy) troublesome hand (band) of wicked  
 confer te ad Manlium: concita perditos  
 (associates); betake thyself to Manlius: excite lost  
 cives: secerne te a bonis: infer  
 (abandoned) citizens: separate thyself from the good: bring-on  
 bellum patriæ: exsulta impio latrocinio,  
 war to (thy) country: exult in impious robbery (warfare),  
 ut videaris non isse ejectus a me ad alienos,  
 that thou-mayst-seem not to have-gone cast-out by me to aliens,  
 sed invitatus ad tuos. Quamquam quid  
 but being-invited to thy-own (friends). Although what  
 ego invitem te, a quo sciam jam  
 (why) may-I-invite thee, by whom I may-know (persons) now  
 præmissos esse qui præstolarentur tibi  
 (already) to have-been-sent-before who should-wait for thee  
 armati ad Aurelium forum? Sciam diem  
 armed to (at) the Aurelian forum? I may know the day  
 pactam esse et constitutam cum Manlio? A quo  
 to have-been-agreed-on and appointed with Manlius? By whom  
 sciam etiam illam argenteam aquilam, quam  
 I may-know even that silver eagle, which  
 confido futuram esse perniciosam et funestam tibi,  
 I trust to be-about-to-be destructive and fatal to thee,  
 ac omnibus tuis, cui sacrarium tuorum  
 and to all thy (friends), to which a shrine of thy



scelerum fuit constitutum tuse domi,  
crimes was appointed of thy (at thy) house,

præmissam esse? Ut tu possis carere illâ  
to have-been-sent-before? How mayst-thou-be-able to be-without that

diutius, quam solebas venerari,  
(eagle) any longer, which thou-wast-accustomed to worship,

proficiscens ad cædem? A altaribus cujus  
departing to slaughter? From the altars of which

transtulisti sæpe istam impiam dexteram ad  
thou-hast-transferred often that impious right-hand to

necem civium?  
the death (slaughter) of citizens?

10. Ibis aliquando tandem, quo ista tua  
Thou-wilt-go at length, whither that thy

effrenata ac furiosa cupiditas jampridem rapiebat  
unbridled and furious desire long-since did-seize

te. Enim neque hæc res affert dolorem  
(hurry) thee. For neither this thing brings pain

tibi, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem:  
to thee, but some (a certain) incredible pleasure.

natura peperit te ad hanc amentiam, voluntas  
nature has-produced thee to this madness, (thy) will

exercuit, fortuna servavit: tu  
has exercised (thee in it), fortune has-preserved (thee for it): thou

nunquam concupisti non modo otium, sed ne quidem  
never hast-coveted not only ease, but not-even

bellum, nisi nefarium: nactus es manum  
war, unless a nefarious (war): thou hast-obtained a band

improborum conflata ex perditis,  
of dishonest (men) blown-together (formed) out of lost

atque derelictis non modo ab omni  
(abandoned men), and forsaken not only by every

fortunâ, verum etiam spe. Quâ lætitiâ  
fortune, but even hope. With what gladness

tu perfruere hic? quibus gaudiis exsultabis? in  
wilt-thou-enjoy here? in what joys wilt-thou-exult? in

quantâ voluptate bacchabere, cum in tanto numero  
how-great pleasure wilt-thou-revel, when in so-great a number

tuorum neque audies neque videbis  
of thy (associates) neither wilt-thou-hear nor wilt-see

quemquam bonum virum? Illi tui labores, qui  
any good man? Those thy labours, which

feruntur, meditati sunt  
are-borne (are commonly reported), have-been-meditated (practised)

ad studium hujus vitæ: jacere  
to (for) the study (purpose) of this (kind of) life: to lie

humi, non modo ad stuprum obsidendum,  
on-the-ground, not only to (for) adultery to-be-lain-in-wait-for,

verum etiam ad facinus obeundum; vigilare,  
but even to (for) a daring-deed to be-gone-through; to watch,

non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum  
not only lying-in-wait for the sleep of husbands, but

etiam bonis occisorum. Habes ubi ostentes  
even for the goods of (them) slain. Thou hast where thou mayst-display

illam tuam præclaram patientiam famis, frigoris,  
that thy famous patience of hunger, of cold,

inopiæ omnium rerum; quibus senties te  
of want of all things; with which thou wilt-perceive thyself

esse confectum brevi tempore. Profeci tantum tum,  
to be wasted in a short time. I profited so-much then,

cum repuli te a consulatu, ut posses  
when I repelled thee from the consulship, that thou mightest-be-able

potius tentare rempublicam exul, quam  
rather to try (attack) the republic (as) an exile, than

vexare consul: atque ut id, quod  
to harass (it) (as) a consul: and that that, which

susceptum esset scelerate a te nominaretur  
might have-been-undertaken wickedly by thee should-be-named

latrocinium potius quam bellum.  
a robbery rather than a war.

11. Nunc, conscripti patres, ut detester ac  
Now, conscript fathers, that I may detest (avoid) and

deprecer a me, quandam prope  
may-deprecate from myself, some (a certain) nearly (almost

justam querimoniam patriæ: percipite diligenter,  
just complaint of (my) country: attend-to diligently

quæso, quæ dicam, et mandate ea  
I pray, (the things) which I may say, and commit them  
penitus vestris animis que mentibus. Etenim, si  
inwardly to your minds and understandings. For, if

patria, quæ est multo carior mihi meâ vitâ, si  
(my) country, which is by-much dearer to me than my life, if  
cuncta Italia, si omnis respublica loquatur cum me:  
the whole Italy, if all the republic may-speak with me:

M. Tulli, quid agis? ne tu patieris eum  
M. Tullius, what aatest-thou? whether wilt-thou-suffer him

exire, quem comperisti esse hostem: quem  
to go-out whom thou hast-discovered to be an enemy: whom

vides futurum ducem belli: quem sentis  
thou seest about-to-be a leader of the war: whom thou perceivest

exspectari imperatorem in castris hostium,  
to be-waited-for (as) commander in the camps of the enemies,

auctorem sceleris, principem conjurationis,  
the author of the wickedness, the chief of the conspiracy.

evocatorem servorum et perditorum civium,  
the summoner (to war) of slaves and of lost (abandoned) citizens,

ut videatur non esse emissus ex urbe abs te,  
that he may-seem not to be sent-out out-of the city by thee,

sed immissus in urbem? Nonne imperabis hunc  
but sent-in into the city? Wilt-thou-not-command this

duci in vincula, non rapi ad  
(Catiline) to-be-led into bonds, not to be-seized (hurried) to

mortem, non mactari summo supplicio? Quid  
death, not to be-slain with the highest punishment? What

tandem impedit te? ne mos majorum?  
at-length hinders you? whether the custom of (our) ancestors?

At persæpe etiam privati multarunt  
But very-often even private (persons) have fined (punished)

perniciosos cives morte in hac republicâ. An  
destructive citizens with death in this republic. Whether

leges quæ rogatæ sunt de supplicio  
the laws which have-been-begged (passed) concerning the punishment

Romanorum civium? At nunquam in  
of Roman citizens (do these prevent thee)? But never in

hâc urbe ii tenuerunt jura civium, qu.  
 this city those have-held (retained) the rights of citizens, who  
 defecerunt a republicâ. An times invidiam  
 have-revolted from the republic. Whether fearest-thou the envy  
 posteritatis? Vero refers præclaram  
 (displeasure) of posterity? But thou returnest a famous  
 gratiam Romano populo, qui extulit te,  
 acknowledgment to the Roman people, which has-raised thee,  
 hominem cognitum per te, nullâ  
 a man known through thyself (alone), with no  
 commendatione majorum, per omnes gradus  
 recommendation of ancestors, through all steps  
 honorum tam mature ad summum imperium,  
 (degrees) of honours so early to the highest command,  
 si propter invidiam, aut metum alicujus periculi,  
 if because-of envy, or fear of some danger,  
 negligis salutem tuorum civium. Sed si est  
 thou neglectest the safety of thy citizens. But if there-is  
 quis metus invidiæ, num est invidia severitatis  
 any fear of envy (displeasure), whether is the envy of severity  
 ac fortitudinis pertimescenda vehementius, quam  
 and of fortitude to be-feared more-violently, than (that)  
 inertiae ac nequitiae? An, cum Italia  
 of inactivity and of negligence? Whether, when Italy  
 vastabitur bello, urbes vexabuntur, tecta  
 shall-be-devastated with war, cities shall-be-harassed, roofs  
 ardebunt: existimas te non  
 (houses) shall-be-on-fire: dost-thou-think thyself not (to be)  
 conflagraturum tum incendio invidiæ?  
 about-to-burn then with a conflagration of envy (unpopularity)?  
 12. Ego respondebo pauca his sanctissimis  
 I will-answer a few (words) to these most-sacred  
 vocibus reipublicæ, et mentibus hominum, qui  
 voices (words) of the republic, and to the minds of men, who  
 sentiunt idem. Si ego judicarem  
 feel the same (have similar sentiments). If I might-judge  
 hoc optimum factu, conscripti patres, Catilinam  
 this best to be-done, conscript fathers, Catiline

**multari** **morte;** **dedissem** **non**  
 to be-fined (punished) with death; I would-have-given not  
**usuram unius horæ ad vivendum** **isti**  
 the use of one hour to to be-lived (for living) to that  
**gladiatori. Etenim, si summi viri, et clarissimi**  
 gladiator. For, if the highest men, and the most-famous  
**cives non modo contaminarunt non, sed etiam**  
 citizens not only have contaminated not, but even  
**honestarunt se, sanguine Saturnini, et**  
 have-ennobled themselves, by the blood of Saturninus, and  
**Gracchorum, et Flacci, et complurium superiorum;**  
 of the Gracchi, and of Flaccus, and of many superiors;  
**certe erat non verendum mihi, ne quid**  
 certainly it was not to-be-feared to (by) me, lest any (thing)  
**invidiæ redundaret mihi in posteritatem, hoc**  
 of unpopularity might-redound to me unto posterity, this  
**parricidâ civium interfecto. Quod si ea impenderet**  
 parricide of citizens being-slain. But-if it might-impend  
**mihi maxime, tamen fui semper**  
 (threaten) to me mostly (very much), yet I have-been always  
**hoc animo, ut putarem invidiam partam virtute,**  
 with this mind, that I might-think envy produced by virtue,  
**gloriam, non invidiam. Quamquam sunt nonnulli in**  
 glory, not envy. Although there-are some in  
**hoc ordine, qui aut videant non ea**  
 this order (assembly), who either may-see not those (things)  
**quæ imminent, aut dissimulent ea, quæ**  
 which impend, or may-dissemble those (things), which  
**vident: qui aluerunt spem Catilinæ mollibus**  
 they-see: who have-nourished the hope of Catiline by soft (mild)  
**sententiis, que corroboraverunt nascentem**  
 opinions, and have-strengthened the growing  
**conjuracionem credendo non. Auctoritatem**  
 conspiracy by believing (it) not. The authority  
**quorum multi secuti, non solum improbi,**  
 of whom many having-followed, not only the dishonest,  
**verum etiam imperiti, si animadvertissem in**  
 but also the unskilful, if I might-have-animadverted upon



**hunc,** **dicerent** **factum esse crudeliter**  
him (if I had punished him), would-say (it) to have-been-done **cruelly**

**et regie.** **Nunc intelligo, si iste**  
and royally (tyrannically). Now I understand, if that (Catiline);

**pervenerit** **quo** **intendit,** **in** **Manliana**  
shall-have-arrived whither he stretches (purposes), into the Manlian

**castra, neminem** **fore** **tam stultum, qui videat**  
camps, no-one to be-about-to-be so foolish, who may-see

**non** **conjuratiōem** **factam esse;** **neminem** **tam**  
not a conspiracy to have-been-made; no-one so

**improbū,** **qui** **fateatur** **non.** **Autem hoc uno**  
dishonest, who may-confess (it) not. But this one

**interfecto,** **intelligo,** **hanc** **pestem**  
(Catiline alone) being-slain, I understand, this pest

**reipublicæ** **reprimi** **paullisper,** **non** **posse**  
of the republic to be-repressed for-a-little-while, not to be-able

**comprimi** **in** **perpetuum.** **Quod si**  
to be-compressed unto perpetual (for ever). But-if

**ejecerit** **se,** **que** **eduxerit** **suos**  
he shall-have-cast-out himself, and shall-have-led-out his-own

**cum se,** **et** **aggregaverit** **ceteros**  
(associates) with himself, and shall-have-gathered-together the other

**naufragos** **collectos undique** **eodem;**  
shipwrecked (ruined persons) collected from-all-sides to-the-same-place;

**non modo hæc tam adulta pestis reipublicæ, verum**  
not only this so adult pest of the republic, but

**etiam stirps** **ac** **semen** **omnium** **malorum**  
also the roots and seed of all evils

**exstinguetur,** **atque** **delebitur.**  
will-be-extinguished, and will-be-blotted-out (destroyed).

**13. Etenim jam diu, conscripti patres**  
For already a long-time, conscript fathers

**versamur** **in** **his periculis** **conjuratiōis** **que** **insidiis:**  
we-are-engaged in these dangers of conspiracy and in snares

**sed** **nescio** **quo** **pacto,** **maturitas**  
but I know-not by what agreement (by what means), the maturity

**omnium** **scelerum,** **ac** **veteris** **furoris** **et** **audaciæ**  
of all crimes, and of old fury and audacity

erupit in tempus nostri consulatus. Quod si  
has-broken-out into the time of our (of my) consulship. But-if

ex tanto latrocinio iste unus  
out-of so-great robbery (conspiracy) that one (Catiline alone)

tolletur; videbimur fortasse esse relevati  
shall-be-taken-away; we-shall-seem perhaps to be relieved

curâ et metu ad quoddam breve tempus: autem  
from care and fear to (for) some short time: but

periculum residebit, et erit inclusum penitus in  
the danger will-settle, and will-be inclosed inwardly in

venis atque in visceribus reipublicæ. Ut sæpe homines  
the veins and in the viscera of the republic. As often men

ægri gravi morbo, cum jactantur æstu que  
sick with a heavy disease, when they are-tossed with heat and

febri, si biberint gelidam aquam, videntur  
with fever, if they may-have-drunk cold water, seem

primo relevari, deinde affliguntur multo gravius  
at-first to be-relieved, afterwards are-afflicted by much more-heavily

que vehementius; sic hic morbus, qui est in republicâ,  
and more-violently; so this disease, which is in the republic,

relevatus poenâ istius ingravescet  
being-relieved by the punishment of that (Catiline) will grow-grievous

reliquis civibus. Quare, conscripti patres,  
to the remaining citizens. Wherefore, conscript fathers,

improbi secedant, secernant se  
the dishonest may retire (let them retire), let-them-separate themselves

a bonis, congregentur in unum locum; denique,  
from the good, let-them-be-assembled into one place; finally,

id quod jam dixi sæpe, secernantur a  
that which already I have-said often, let-them-be-separated from

nobis muro, desinant insidiari  
us by the wall (of the city), let-them-cease to lie-in-wait

consuli suæ domi, circumstare  
for the consul of his-own house (at his own house), to stand-around

tribunal urbani prætoris, obsidere curiam  
the tribunal of the civic prætor, to beset the council-house

cum gladiis, comparare malleolos et faces ad  
with swords, to prepare combustibles and torches to (for,

urbem inflammandam. Denique, sit inscriptum  
the city to be-set-on-fire. Finally, let-it-be inscribed

in fronte uniuscujusque civis, quid sentiat  
in (on) the forehead of each citizen, what he may-feel

de republicâ. Polliceor hoc  
(what are his sentiments) concerning the republic. I promise this

vobis, conscripti patres, tantam diligentiam fore  
to you, conscript fathers, so-great diligence to be-about-to-be

in nobis consulibus, tantam auctoritatem in  
(will be) in us consuls, so-great authority in

vobis, tantam virtutem in Romanis equitibus,  
you, so-great virtus (valour) in the Roman knights,

tantam consensionem in omnibus bonis, ut  
so-great agreement in all the-good, that

profectione Catilinæ videatis omnia esse  
by the departure of Catiline you-may-see all (things) to be

patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata. Hisce  
exposed, brought-to-light, oppressed, punished. With these

ominibus, Catilina, cum summâ salute reipublicæ,  
omens, Catiline, with the highest safety of the republic,

et cum tuâ peste ac pernicië, que cum exitio  
and with thy-own pest and destruction, and with the destruction

eorum qui junxerunt se cum te omni scelere  
of those who have-joined themselves with thee in every crime

que parricidio, proficiscere ad impium ac nefarium  
and parricide, depart to an impious and nefarious

bellum. Tam tu, Jupiter, qui constitutus es a  
war. Then thou, Jupiter, who has-been-established by

Romulo iisdem auspiciis quibus hæc urbs;  
Romulus with the same auspices with which this city (wa-

quem nominamus vere Statorem hujus  
established); whom we name truly the Stator of this

arbis atque imperii, arcebis hunc et socios  
city and empire, wilt-ward-off this (Catiline) and the companions

hujus a tuis aris que ceteris templis, a tectis  
of this from thy altars and from the other temples, from the roofs

ac mœnibus urbis, a vitâ que fortunis  
(houses) and the walls of the city, from the life and the fortunes

omnium civium; et mactabis omnes  
 of all the citizens; and thou wilt-sacrifice (destroy) all

inimicos bonorum, hostes patriæ, latrones Italiæ,  
 enemies of the good, enemies of the country, the robbers of Italy,

conjunctos inter se foedere scelerum ac  
 united among themselves by a covenant of crimes and

nefariâ societate, vivos que mortuos, æternis  
 by nefarious society, alive and dead, with eternal

suppliciis.  
 punishments

SECUNDA ORATIO  
THE SECOND ORATION  
AD QUIRITES.  
TO THE ROMANS.

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1. TANDEM ALIQUANDO, Quirites, vel eiecimus  
At-length, Romans, either we have-cast-out  
ex urbe, L. Catilinam, furem audaciâ, anhelantem  
out-of the city, L. Catiline, raging with audacity, panting-after  
scelus, molientem nefarie pestem patriæ,  
crime, attempting nefariously the pest (destruction) of the country,  
minitantem ferrum que flammam vobis atque huic urbi,  
threatening sword and flame to you and to this city,  
vel emisimus vel prosecuti sumus verbis  
or we have-sent (him) out, or we-have-followed with words  
ipsum egredientem. Abiit, excessit, evasit,  
himself going-out. He has-departed, he has-gone-out, he has-escaped,  
erupit. Jam nulla perniciës comparabitur intra  
he has-burst-out. Now no destruction will be-prepared within  
mœnia mœnibus ipsis a illo monstro atque  
the walls for the walls themselves by that monster and  
prodigio. Atque sine controversiâ vicimus  
prodigy (of wickedness). And without controversy we have-conquered  
quidem hunc unum ducem domestici belli. Enim jam  
indeed this one leader of domestic war. For now  
illa sica versabitur non inter nostra latera :  
that poniard will be-engaged not among our sides  
pertimescemus non in campo,  
(will not be aimed at our sides) : we shall-fear (it) not in the plain  
non in foro, non in curiâ,  
(the Campus Martius), not in the forum, not in the council-house



denique, non intra domesticos parietes. Ille motus est  
 finally, not within (our) domestic walls. He was-moved  
 loco, cum depulsus est ex urbe. Jam  
 from (his) place, when he was-driven out-of the city. Now  
 geremus palam justum bellum cum hoste, nullo  
 we shall-carry on openly a just war with an enemy, no-one  
 impediēte. Sine dubio perdidimus, que magnifice  
 hindering. Without doubt we destroyed, and magnificently  
 vicimus hominem, cum coniecimus illum ex occultis  
 conquered the man, when we cast him out-of hidden  
 insidiis in apertum latrocinium. Vero quanto  
 snares into open robbery (war). But with how-great  
 mœrore tandem putatis illum esse afflictum et  
 sorrow at-length do you-think him to be afflicted and  
 profligatum, quod extulit non mucronem  
 cast-down, because he has-carried-out not the sword-blade  
 cruentum, ut voluit, quod egressus est, nobis vivis,  
 bloody, as he wished, because he went-out, ourselves alive  
 quod extorsimus ferrum ei de  
 (I being alive), because we have-wrested the sword from him from  
 manibus, quod reliquit cives incolumes, quod  
 the hands, because he has-left the citizens safe, because  
 urbem stantem? Ille nunc jacet prostratus,  
 (he has left) the city standing? He now lies overthrown,  
 Quirites, et sentit se esse perculsum atque abjectum,  
 Romans, and perceives himself to be struck and cast-down,  
 et profecto retorquet sæpe oculos ad hanc urbem  
 and indeed turns-back often (his) eyes to this city  
 quam luget ereptam esse ex suis faucibus.  
 which he mourns to have-been-snatched out-of his jaws  
 quæ videtur mihi quidem lætari, quod  
 which (city) seems to me indeed to rejoice, because  
 evomuerit tantam pestem, que projecit  
 it may have-vomited-out so-great a pest and may-have-cast (it)  
 foras.  
 without.

2. At si quis est talis, quales oportebat omnes  
 But if any (person) is such like-as it did-behave all

esse, qui accuset me vehementer in hoc ipso,  
 to be, who may accuse me violently in this (thing) itself  
 in quo mea oratio exultat et triumphat, quod  
 in which my speech exults and triumphs, because  
 comprehenderim non tam capitale[m] hostem, potius  
 I may have-seized not so capital an enemy, rather  
 quam emiserim: ista est non mea culpa,  
 than I may have-sent (him)-out: that is not my fault,  
 Quirites, sed temporum. Oportebat jampridem  
 Romans, but (the fault) of the times. It-did-behove long-since  
 L. Catilinam interemtum esse, et affectum gravissimo  
 L. Catiline to have-been-slain, and affected with the heaviest  
 supplicio; que et mos majorum, et severitas  
 punishment; and both the custom of (our) ancestors, and the severity  
 hujus imperii, et respublica postulabat  
 of this command (of the consular power), and the republic did demand  
 id a me. Sed quam multos putatis fuisse, qui  
 that from me. But how many do you-think to have-been who  
 crederent non quæ ego deferrem? quam  
 would believe not (the things) which I might-allege? how  
 multos, qui putarent non propter  
 many, who would-think (them) not (to exist) because-of  
 stultitiam? quam multos, qui etiam defenderent?  
 folly? how many, who even would-defend (them)?  
 quam multos, qui faverent propter improbitatem?  
 how many, who would-favour (them) because-of dishonesty?  
 Ac si, illo sublato, judicarem omne  
 And if, he (Catiline) being-removed, I might-judge every  
 periculum depelli a vobis; jampridem ego  
 danger to be-repelled from you; long-since I  
 sustulissem L. Catilinam, non modo periculo  
 would-have-removed L. Catiline, not only with danger  
 meæ invidiæ, verum etiam vitæ.  
 (at the peril) of my envy (unpopularity), but even of life.  
 Sed cum viderem, re etiam tum probatâ  
 But when I might-see, the thing even then being-approved  
 ne quidem vobis omnibus si multassem  
 not-even to (by) you all (the senators), if I might-have-punished

illum morte, ut meritus erat, fore  
 him with death, as he had-deserved, to be-about-to-be (i. might be),  
 ut oppressus invidiâ, possem non persequi  
 that being-oppressed with unpopularity, I should-be-able not to pursue  
 socios ejus: deduxi rem huc,  
 the companions of him: I have-brought-down the thing hither (to this),  
 ut possetis pugnare palam tum, cum videretis  
 that you might-be-able to fight openly then, when you might-see  
 hostem aperte. Quem hostem, quidem, Quirites,  
 the enemy openly. Which enemy, indeed, Romans,  
 quam vehementer ego putem esse timendum foris,  
 how violently I may think to be to be-feared without

licet

intelligatis

being out of the city), it may-be-allowed (that) you may-understand

hinc, quod fero etiam illud moleste,  
 hence (you may learn from this), that I bear even this grievously,

quod exierit ex urbe parum comitatus.  
 that he may-have-gone-out out-of the city little accompanied.

Utinam ille eduxisset omnes suas copias cum  
 O that he might-have-led-out all his forces with

se! Eduxit mihi Tongillum, quem cœperat  
 himself! He has-led-out for me Tongillus, whom he had-begun

amare calumniâ in prætextâ:

to love with calumny (feigned love) in the prætexta (in youth): (he has

Publicium et Munacium, alienum æs quorum  
 led out) Publicius and Munacius, the debt of whom

contractum in popinâ poterat afferre nullum motum  
 contracted in the tavern was-able to bring no movement

reipublicæ: quos viros reliquit? quanto  
 (commotion) to the republic: what men has-he-left? with how-great

ære alieno, quam valentes, quam nobiles?  
 debt, how powerful, how noble?

3. Itaque ego contemno magnopere illum exercitum,  
 Therefore I despise greatly that army

et Gallicanis legionibus, et hoc delectu,  
 (of Catiline), both with the Gallic legions, and with this choice

quem Q. Metellus habuit in Piceno et Gallico  
 (levy), which Q. Metellus has had in the Picenian and Gallic

agro, et his copiis, quæ comparantur a  
 field (territory), and with these forces, which are-prepared by  
 nobis quotidie; collectum ex desperatis  
 us daily (I despise that army); collected out-of hopeless  
 senibus, ex agresti luxuriâ, ex rusticis decoctoribus,  
 old-men, out-of rural luxury, out-of rustic spendthrifts,  
 ex iis qui maluerunt deserere vadimonia  
 out-of those who have-wished-rather to desert (their) recognisances  
 quam illum exercitum: quibus si ego ostendero non  
 than that army: to whom if I shall-have-shown not  
 modo aciem nostri exercitus, verum etiam si  
 only the array of our army, but even if (I shall have  
 edictum prætoris, concident. Mallem  
 shown) the edict of the prætor, they will-fall (faint). I would-rather  
 eduxisset cum se suos milites hos, quos  
 he might-have-led-out with himself (as) his soldiers these, whom  
 video volitare in foro, quos stare ad  
 I see to flutter-about in the forum, whom (I see) to stand to (at)  
 curiam, quos venire etiam in senatum: qui  
 the council-house, whom (I see) to come even into the senate: who  
 nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpurâ: qui si  
 shine with perfumes, who glitter in purple: who if  
 permanent hic, mementote illum exercitum non tam  
 they remain here, remember that army not so  
 quam hos, qui deseruerunt exercitum esse  
 (much) as these, who have-deserted the army to be  
 pertimescendos nobis. Atque sunt etiam timendi  
 to be-feared to (by) us. And they-are even to be-feared  
 hoc magis, quod sentiunt me scire quid  
 by this more, because they perceive me to know what  
 cogitent, neque tamen permoventur. Video cui  
 they may-devise, nor yet are-moved. I see to whom  
 Apulia attributa sit, qui habeat Etruriam, qui  
 Apulia may have-been-assigned, who may-have Etruria, who  
 Picenum agrum, qui Gallicum, qui depoposcerit  
 the Piconian field (territory), who the Gallic, who may have-demanded  
 sibi has urbanas insidias cædis atque incendiorum.  
 to himself these civic snares of slaughter and of conflagrations

**Sentiunt** omnia consilia superioris noctis  
 They perceive all the counsels of the former night

**delata esse** ad me: patefeci in  
 to have-been-brought (reported) to me: I exposed (them) in

**senatu hesterno die: Catilina ipse pertimuit, profugit:**  
 the senate yesterday: Catiline himself feared, fled

**quid** hi expectant? Næ illi errant vehementer,  
 what (why) these wait? Truly they err violently

**si sperant** illam meam pristinam  
 (very much), if they hope (expect) that my former

**lenitatem futuram perpetuam.**  
 mildness about-to-be perpetual.

**4. Jam** assecutus sum quod expectavi, ut vos  
 Already I have-attained what I waited-for, that you

**omnes videretis conjurationem factam esse aperte**  
 all might-see a conspiracy to have-been-made openly

**contra rempublicam. Nisi, vero, si est quis**  
 against the republic. Unless, indeed, if there-is any (person)

**qui putet similes Catilinæ** non sentire  
 who may-think the like of Catiline (think like Catiline) not to feel

**cum Catilinâ. Jam est non locus lenitati; res**  
 with Catiline. Now there-is not place for mildness; the thing

**ipsa flagitat severitatem. Etiam nunc concedam**  
 itself demands severity. Even now I will-concede

**unum: exeant; proficiscantur; patiantur ne**  
 one (thing): let-them-go-out; let-them-depart; let-them-suffer not

**miserum Catilinam tabescere desiderio sui;**  
 the wretched Catiline to pine-away with the want of them

**demonstrabo iter. Profectus est Aureliâ viâ:**  
 I will-point-out the journey. He departed by the Aurelian way:

**si volent accelerare, consequentur ad vesperam.**  
 if they-shall-wish to hasten, they will-overtake (him) to (at) evening.

**O fortunatam rempublicam, si quidem, ejecerit**  
 O fortunate republic, if indeed, she may-have-cast-out

**hanc sentinam hujus urbis! Mehercule, Catilinâ uno**  
 this sink of this city! By-Hercules, Catiline one

**exhausto, respublica videtur mihi relevata**  
 (alone) being-drawn-off, the republic seems to me relieved



et recreata. Enim quid mali aut sceleris potest  
 and refreshed. For what of evil or of crime is-able  
 fingi aut excogitari, quod ille conceperit  
 to be-fashioned or to be-devised, which he may have-conceived  
 non? Quis veneficus totâ Italiâ, quis gladiator,  
 not? What poisoner in whole (all) Italy, what gladiator  
 quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis subjector  
 what robber, what assassin, what parricide, what substitutor  
 testamentorum, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo,  
 of wills, what over-reacher, what debauchee,  
 quis nepos, quis adulter, quæ infamis mulier,  
 what spendthrift, what adulterer, what infamous woman,  
 quis corruptor juventutis, quis corruptus quis  
 what corruptor of youth, what corrupted (person), what  
 perditus potest inveniri, qui fateatur  
 lost (abandoned person) is-able to be-found, who may-confess  
 non se vixisse familiarissime cum Catilinâ?  
 not himself to have-lived most-familiarly with Catiline?  
 Quæ cædes facta est per hosce annos  
 What slaughter (murder) has-been-done through these-here years  
 sine illo? Quod nefarium stuprum  
 (of late years) without him? What nefarious debauchery  
 non per illum? Vero jam, quæ tanta illecebra  
 not through him? But now, what so-great allurement  
 juventutis fuit umquam in ullo homine, quanta in  
 of youth has been ever in any man, as-great-as in  
 illo? qui ipse amabat alios turpissime, serviebat  
 him? who himself did-love others most-basely, did serve  
 flagitiosissime amanti aliorum:  
 (was subservient) most-villanously to the love of others  
 pollicebatur aliis fructum libidinum,  
 he did promise to others (to some) the fruit (enjoyment) of desires,  
 aliis mortem parentum, non modo impellendo, verum  
 to others the death of parents, not only by impelling, but  
 etiam adjuvando. Vero nunc quam subito collegerat  
 even by assisting. But now how-suddenly he had-collected  
 ingentem numerum perditorum hominum, non  
 a large number of lost (abandoned) men, not

solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris? Nemo,  
 only out-of the city, but even out of the fields? No-one,  
 non modo Romæ, sed nec in ullo angulo  
 not only of Rome (at Rome), but neither in any corner  
 totius Italiæ, fuit oppressus alieno ære, quem  
 of the whole Italy, was oppressed with-debt, whom  
 adsciverit non ad hoc incredibile fœdus  
 he may-have-attached not to this incredible covenant  
 sceleris.  
 of crime.

5. Atque ut possitis perspicere diversa studia  
 And that you-may-be-able to see-plainly the different studies  
 ejus in dissimili ratione, est nemo in  
 of him in a dissimilar reason (manner), there-is no-one in  
 gladiatorio ludo paullo audacior ad facinus, qui  
 the gladiatory play (school) a little more-bold to daring-deed, who  
 fateatur non se esse intimum Catilinæ:  
 may-confess not himself to be the intimate (friend) of Catiline.  
 nemo levior et nequior in  
 no-one lighter (more unsteady) and more profligate in (on)  
 scenâ, qui commemoret non se fuisse prope  
 the stage, who may-mention not himself to have-been nearly  
 sodalem ejusdem. Atque tamen idem,  
 the companion of the same. And yet the same (Catiline),  
 assuefactus exercitatione stuprorum et scelerum,  
 accustomed by the exercise of debaucheries and of crimes,  
 frigore, et fame, et siti, ac vigiliis perferendis,  
 in cold, and in hunger, and in thirst, and in watchings to be-borne,  
 prædicabatur fortis ab istis; cum subsidia  
 was-declared brave by those (persons); when the aids  
 industriæ atque instrumenta virtutis consumerentur  
 of industry and the instruments of virtue might-be-consumed  
 in libidine que audaciâ. Vero si sui comites  
 in desire and audacity. But if his companions  
 secuti fuerint hunc; si flagitiosi greges  
 may-have-followed this (Catiline); if the villanous flocks  
 desperatorum hominum exierint ex urbe; O  
 of hopeless men may-have-gone-out out-of the city; O

beatos nos, O fortunatam rempublicam, O præc. aram  
 happy us, O fortunate republic, O famous  
 laudem mei consulatûs ! Enim jam libidines hominum  
 praise of my consulship ! For now the desires of the men  
 sunt non mediocres, audaciæ non humanæ ac  
 are not moderate, (their) audacities not human and  
 tolerandæ : cogitant nihil, nisi cædes, nisi  
 to be-supported : they devise nothing, unless slaughters, unless  
 incendia, nisi rapinas ; profuderunt  
 conflagrations, unless rapines ; they have-poured-forth (squandered)  
 sua patrimonio ; abligurierunt suas fortunas ;  
 their-own patrimonies ; they have-spent-in-feasting their fortunes ;  
 res eos jampridem ; fides nuper  
 thing (property has failed) them long-since ; faith (credit) lately  
 cœpit deficere ; tamen illa eadem libido, quæ  
 has-begun to fail (them) ; yet that same desire, which  
 erat in abundantia, permanet. Quod si in vino  
 was in (their) abundance, remains. But-if in wine  
 et alea quærerent solum comissiones et scorta,  
 and dice they-might-seek only revellings and prostitutes,  
 illi essent desperandi quidem ; sed tamen  
 they would-be to be-despaired-of indeed ; but yet  
 essent ferendi. Vero quis possit ferre hoc,  
 they would-be to be-borne. But who may-be-able to bear this, (for)  
 inertes homines insidiari fortissimis viris,  
 inactive men to lie-in-wait for the bravest men,  
 stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis,  
 the most-foolish for the most-prudent, the drunken for the sober  
 dormientes vigilantibus ? Qui mihi, accubantes  
 the sleeping for the watching ? Who (for me), reclining  
 in conviviis, complexi impudicas mulieres, languidi  
 in banquets, having-embraced unchaste women, languid  
 vino, conferti cibo, redimiti sertis, obliti  
 with wine, filled with food, crowned with garlands, besmeared  
 unguentis, debilitati stupris, eructant suis  
 with perfumes, weakened with debaucheries, belch-out in their  
 sermonibus cædem bonorum, atque incendia  
 discourses the slaughter of the good, and the

urbis. Quibus, ego confido, aliquod fatum impendere :  
of the city. To whom, I trust, some fate to impend :

et pœnas jam diu debitas improbitati,  
and the penalties already a long-time due to dishonesty,

nequitiae, sceleri, libidini, aut jam plane  
to licentiousness, to crime, to desire, either already plainly

instare, aut certe jam appropinquare. Quos si  
to be-at-hand, or certainly already to approach. Whom if

maeus consulatus, quoniam potest non sanare,  
my consulship, since it is-able not to cure,

sustulerit ; propagarit  
may have-removed ; it will have propagated (it will have added a duration)

non nescio quod breve tempus, sed multa sæcula  
not I know-not what short time, but many ages

reipublicæ. Enim est nulla natio quam  
to the republic. For there-is no nation which

pertimescamus ; nullus rex qui possit facere bellum  
we may-fear ; no king who may be-able to make war

Romano populo. Omnia externa, terrâ que  
to the Roman people. All external (things), by land and

mari pacata sunt virtute unius :  
by sea have-been-appeased by the valour of one (Pompey alone) :

domesticum bellum manet ; insidiæ sunt intus ;  
a domestic war remains ; the snares are within ;

periculum est inclusum intus ; hostis est intus ;  
the danger is inclosed within ; the enemy is within ;

est certandum nobis cum luxuriâ, cum amentia,  
it-is to be-contended to (by) us with luxury, with madness,

cum scelere. Quirites, ego profiteor me ducem  
with crime. Romans, I profess (declare) myself the leader

huic bello ; suscipio inimicitias  
to this war ; I take-up (I take upon myself) the enmities

perditorum hominum. Quæ poterunt  
of the lost (abandoned) men. What (things) shall-be-able

sanari, sanabo quâcunque ratione ; quæ  
to be-cured, I will-cure by whatsoever reason (means) ; what

erunt resecanda, patiar non manere ad  
(things) shall-be to be-cut-off, I will-suffer not to remain to

perniciem civitatis. Proinde, aut exeat, aut  
 the destruction of the state. Therefore, either let them-go-out, or  
 quiescant; aut, si et permanent in urbe, et  
 let-them-remain-quiet; or, if both they remain in the city, and  
 in eâdem mente, expectent ea quæ  
 in the same mind, let-them-expect those (things) which  
 merentur.  
 they deserve.

6. At etiam sunt, Quirites, qui dicant  
 But even there-are (persons), Romans, who may-say  
 Catilinam ejectum esse a me in exsilium. Quod  
 Catiline to have-been-cast-out by me into exile. Which  
 si ego possem assequi verbo, ejicerem istos  
 if I might-be-able to attain by word, I would-cast-out those  
 ipsos, qui loquuntur hæc. Videlicet  
 (persons) themselves, who speak these (things). That-is-to-say  
 timidus, et permodestus homo potuit non  
 (forsooth) the timid, and very-modest man was-able not  
 ferre vocem consulis: simul atque jussus est ire  
 to bear the voice of the consul: as-soon-as he was-ordered to go  
 in exsilium, paruit ivit. Hesterno die, cum  
 into exile, he obeyed, he went. On-yesterday, when  
 interfectus essem pæne meæ domi,  
 I might-have-been-slain almost of my house (at my own house),  
 vocavi senatum in ædem Jovis Statoris:  
 I called the senate into the temple of Jupiter Stator:  
 detuli omnem rem ad conscriptos patres.  
 I referred all the thing (affair) to the conscript fathers.  
 Quo, cum Catilina venisset, quis senator appellavit  
 Whither, when Catiline might-have-come, what senator addressed  
 eum? quis salutavit? denique, quis ita aspexit  
 him? who saluted (him)? finally, who so looked-on (him)  
 ut perditum civem, ac non potius ut  
 as a lost (abandoned) citizen, and not rather as  
 importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes ejus  
 a most-troublesome enemy? But even the chiefs of that  
 ordinis, reliquerunt illam partem subselliorum  
 order (the senatorial), left that part of the seats



**ad** quam ille accesserat nudam atque inanem. **Hic**  
to which he had approached naked and empty. Here

**ego**, ille vehemens consul, qui ejicio cives in  
I, that violent consul, who cast-out citizens into

**exsilium** verbo, quæsi a Catilinâ, an fuisset  
exile by a word, asked from Catiline, whether he might-have-been

**nocturno** conventu apud **M. Leccam**, necne.  
in the nocturnal assembly with (at the house of) M. Lecca, or-not

**Cum** ille audacissimus homo, convictus conscientiâ,  
When that most-audacious man, convicted by consciousness,

**primo** reticuisset: patefeci cetera.  
at-first might-have-kept-silent: I exposed the other (things).

**Edocui** quid egisset eâ nocte [ubi  
I informed what he might-have-acted on that night [where

fuisset], quid constituisset in proximam,  
he might-have-been], what he might-have-appointed upon the next

quemadmodum ratio totius belli  
(night), in what-manner the reason (plan) of the whole war

descripta esset ei. **Cum** hæsitaret,  
might-have-been-described to (by) him. When he might-hesitate,

**cum** teneretur; quæsi, quid  
when he might-be-held (when he was convicted); I asked, what (why)

**dubitaret** proficisci eò, quo pararat  
he might-doubt (hesitate) to depart thither, whither he had-prepared

jampridem: cum scirem arma, cum secures,  
(to go) long-since: when I might-know arms, when axes,

**cum** fasces, cum tubas, cum militaria signa,  
when fasces, when trumpets, when military signs (ensigns),

**cum** illam argenteam aquilam, cui ille etiam  
when that silver eagle, to which he even

**fecerat** sacrarium scelerum suæ domi,  
had-made a shrine of crimes of his-own house (at his own house),

**præmissam** esse. Ejiciebam in exsilium,  
to have-been-sent-before. Did-I-cast-out into exile (him),

quem videbam jam ingressum esse in bellum?  
whom I did-see already to have-entered into war?

**Etenim**, credo iste Manlius centurio, qui  
For, I believe (forsooth) that Manlius the centurion, who

posuit castra in Fesulano agro, indixit  
 has-placed camps in the Fesulanian field (territory), he has-declared  
 bellum Romano populo suo nomine: et illa  
 war to (on) the Roman people in his-own name: and those  
 castra nunc exspectant non Catilinam ducem: et  
 camps now await not Catiline (as) leader: and  
 ille, ejectus in exsilium, conferet se  
 he, being-cast-out into exile, will-betake himself (to)  
 Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in hæc castra.  
 Marseilles, as they say, not into these camps.

7. O miseram conditionem, non modo reipublicæ  
 O wretched condition, not only of the republic  
 administrandæ, verum etiam conservandæ? Nunc, si  
 to be-managed, but even to be-preserved? Now, if  
 L. Catilina, circumclusus ac debilitatus meis consiliis,  
 L. Catiline, closed-around and weakened by my counsels,  
 laboribus, periculis, pertimuerit subito,  
 labours, (and) dangers, may have-feared suddenly,  
 mutaverit sententiam, deseruerit suos,  
 may have-changed (his) opinion, may have-deserted his-own  
 abjecerit consilium belli faciundi,  
 (associates), may have-cast-off the counsel of war to be-made  
 converterit iter ex hoc  
 the design of making war, may have-turned (his) journey out-of this  
 cursu sceleris et belli ad fugam atque in exsilium;  
 course of crime and of war to flight and into exile;  
 ille dicetur non spoliatus esse a me armis  
 he will-be-said not to have-been-despoiled by me from the arms  
 audaciæ, non obstupefactus ac perterritus meâ  
 of audacity, not astonished and frightened by my  
 diligentia, non depulsus de spe que conatu, sed  
 diligence, not driven-off from (his) hope and attempt, but  
 indemnat, innocens ejectus in exsilium a  
 uncondemned, innocent (to have been) cast-out into exile by  
 consule vi et minis: et erunt qui  
 the consul by force and by threats: and there-will-be (persons) who  
 velint illum, si fecerit hoc, existimari non  
 may-wish him, if he shall-have-done this, to be-thought not

Improbum, sed miserum: me non diligentissimum  
dishonest, but wretched: me not a most-diligent

consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum. Est tanti  
consul, but a most-cruel tyrant. It-is of so-much

mihi, Quirites, subire tempestatem  
to me (I think it worth the while), Romans, to undergo the tempest

hujus falsæ atque iniquæ invidiæ, dummodo  
of this false and unjust envy (unpopularity), provided-that

periculum hujus horribilis ac nefarii belli  
the danger of this horrible and nefarious war

depellatur a vobis. Sane dicatur  
may-be-driven-off from you. Truly he may-be-said

ejectus esse a me, dummodo eat in exilium.  
to have-been-cast-out by me, provided-that he may-go into exile

Sed credite mihi, est non iturus. Ego numquam  
But believe to me, he-is not about-to-go. I never

optabo a immortalibus diis, Quirites, causâ meâ  
shall-wish from the immortal gods, Romans, for-the-sake of my

invidiæ levandæ, ut audiatis L. Catilinam  
unpopularity to be-relieved, that you may-hear L. Catiline

ducere exercitum hostium, atque volitare in  
to lead an army of the enemies, and to flutter-about in

armis: sed tamen audietis triduo: que  
arms: but yet you will-hear (it) in the-space-of-three-days: and

timeo illud multo magis, ne aliquando sit invidiosum  
I fear this by much more, lest at-length it may-be envious

mihi, quod emiserim potius  
(producing unpopularity) to me, that I may-have-sent-out rather

quam quod ejecerim illum. Sed cum  
than that I may have-cast-out him. But when (since)

sint homines, qui dicant illum ejectum esse  
there-may-be men, who may-say him to have-been-cast-out

cum profectus sit, iidem quid dicerent,  
when he may-have-departed, the same (persons) what would (they) say,

si interfectus esset? Quamquam isti, qui dictitant  
if he might-have-been-slain? Although those, who say-often

Catilinam ire Massiliam, queruntur non  
Catiline to go (is going to) Marseilles, complain-of not

tam, quam verentur hoc. Est nemo istorum  
 so (so much), as they fear this. There-is no-one of those  
 tam misericors, qui malit non  
 so merciful, who may wish-rather not (who would not prefer)  
 illum ire ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses.  
 him to go to Manlius than to the people-of-Marseilles.  
 Autem Mehercule, si ille numquam ante cogitasset  
 But by-Hercules, if he never before might-have-devised  
 hoc, quod agit, tamen mallet se  
 this, which he acts (he is doing), yet he would-wish-rather himse'f  
 interfici latrocinantem quam vivere  
 to be-slain robbing (warring against his country) than to live  
 exsulem. Vero nunc, cum nihil adhuc acciderit  
 an exile. But now, when nothing as-yet may-have-happened  
 ei præter voluntatem que cogitationem  
 to him beside (contrary to) the wish and the thought  
 ipsius, nisi quod profectus est Româ nobis  
 of himself, unless that he has-departed from Rome us (being)  
 vivis, optemus potius ut eat in  
 alive, we may-wish (let us wish) rather that he may-go into  
 exsilium quam queramur.  
 exile than (that) we may-complain (of it).

8. Sed cur loquimur tam diu de uno  
 But why do we-speak so long-time concerning one  
 hoste, et de eo hoste qui jam fatetur  
 enemy, and concerning that enemy who already confesses  
 se esse hostem, et quem timeo non, quia murus  
 himself to be an enemy, and whom I fear not, because the wall  
 interest, quod volui semper? dicimus  
 (of the city) is-between, which I have-wished always? do we-say  
 nihil de his qui dissimulant, qui remanent  
 nothing concerning those who dissemble, who remain  
 Romæ, qui sunt cum nobis? Quos ego quidem  
 of Rome (at Rome), who are with us? Whom I indeed  
 studeo non tam ulcisci, quam  
 study (greatly desire) not so (so much) to take-revenge-on, as  
 sanare, et placare eos reipublicæ, si  
 to cure, to to appease (to reconcile) them to the republic, if

**possit** fieri ullo modo; neque intelligo  
it-may-be-able to be-done in any manner; nor do I understand

**quare** id possit non fieri, si volent  
wherefore that may be-able not to be-done, if they shall-wish

**audire** me. Enim exponam vobis, Quirites, ex  
to hear me. For I will explain to you, Romans, out-of

**quibus** generibus hominum istæ copiæ comparentur:  
what kinds of men those forces may be-prepared

**deinde** afferam singulis (plur.) medicinam  
(raised): afterwards I will-bring to each the medicine

**consilii** atque meæ orationis, si potero  
of (my) counsel and of my speech, if I shall-be-able (to offer)

**quam.** Est unum genus eorum, qui in magno  
any. There-is one kind of those, who (being) in great

**ære alieno,** etiam habent majores possessiones:  
debt, also have greater possessions:

**adducti** amore quarum, possunt dissolvi  
led by the love of which, they are-able to be-dissolved

**nullo modo.** Species horum  
(to be detached from them) in no manner. The appearance of these

**hominum est** honestissima (enim sunt locupletes);  
men is the most-honourable (for they-are wealthy);

**vero** voluntas et causa impudentissima. Tu  
but (their) wish and cause (is) most-shameless. Thou

**sis** ornatus et copiosus agris, tu  
mayest-be adorned (furnished) and abundant in fields, thou (mayest

**ædificiis,** tu argento, tu familiâ,  
be well furnished) with edifices, thou with silver, thou with household,

**tu omnibus rebus;** et dubites  
thou with all things; and mayest-thou-doubt (dost thou hesitate)

**detrahere de** possessione, acquirere ad  
to withdraw from (to diminish) thy possession, to acquire to

**fidem?** Enim quid expectas bellum?  
faith (to gam in credit)? For what dost-thou-expect war?

**quid!** ergo in vastatione omnium putas  
what! therefore in the laying-waste of all (things) dost-thou-think

**tuas** possessiones futuras sacrosanctas?  
thy possessions about-to-be sacred (unviolable)?



an novas tabulas? errant,  
 whether (dost thou expect) new tablets (an abolition of debts)? they err,  
 qui expectant istas a Catilinâ. [Novæ] tabulæ  
 who expect those from Catiline. [New] tablets  
 præferentur meo beneficio, verum auctionariæ.  
 shall be-brought-forward by my kindness, but auctionary  
 Enim neque isti qui habent  
 (tablets — catalogues of sale). For neither those who have  
 possessiones possunt esse salvi ullâ aliâ ratione.  
 possessions are-able to be safe in any other manner.  
 Quod si voluissent facere maturius, neque  
 But-if they might-have-wished to do (it) earlier, nor  
 (id quod est stultissimum) certare cum usuris  
 (that which is most-foolish) to contend with usuries  
 fractibus prædiorum; uteremur his  
 with the fruits of (their) farms; we should-use (experience) with these  
 locupletioribus et melioribus civibus. Sed  
 (would have them) wealthier and better citizens. But  
 puto hosce homines minime pertimescendos,  
 I think these men least (very little) to be-feared,  
 quod aut possunt deduci de sententiâ,  
 because either they are-able to be-led-away from (their) opinion,  
 aut, si permanebunt, videntur mihi magis  
 or, if they shall-remain, they seem to me more (rather)  
 facturi vota contra rempublicam quam  
 about-to-make vows (wishes) against the republic than  
 laturi arma.  
 about-to-bear arms.

9. Est alterum genus eorum, qui quamquam  
 There-is another kind of those, who although  
 premuntur ære alieno, tamen expectant  
 they are-pressed with debt, yet expect  
 lominiationem: volunt potiri rerum:  
 ominion (authority): they wish to possess of things (power)  
 arbitrantur se posse consequi honores, republicâ  
 they think themselves to be-able to attain honours, the republic  
 perturbatâ, quos desperant quietâ.  
 being-disturbed, which they despair (the republic being) quiet

Quibus hoc videtur præcipiendum, scilicet unum  
 To whom this seems (fit) to be-advised, that-is-to-say one  
 et idem quod omnibus ceteris, ut desperent  
 and the same (thing) which to all the rest, that they may-despair  
 se posse consequi id, quod conantur: primum  
 themselves to be-able to attain that, which they attempt: first  
 omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse, providere  
 of all myself to watch, to be-present, to foresee (provide)  
 reipublicæ: deinde magnos animos  
 for the republic: afterwards (secondly) great minds (spirit)  
 esse in bonis viris, magnam concordiam,  
 to be in good men, great agreement (unanimity)  
 maximam multitudinem, præterea magnas copias  
 a very-great multitude (of them), besides great forces  
 militum: denique, immortales deos præsentés,  
 of soldiers: finally, the immortal gods being-present (propitious),  
 esse laturus auxilium huic invicto populo,  
 to-be about-to-bear aid to this unconquered people,  
 clarissimo imperio, pulcherrimæ urbi,  
 (to this) most-famous empire, (to this) most-beautiful city,  
 contra tantam vim sceleris. Quod si jam  
 against so-great violence of crime. But-if already  
 adepti sint id, quod cupiunt cum summo  
 they may have-obtained that, which they desire with the highest  
 furore: num sperant illi se futuros consules,  
 fury: whether hope they themselves about-to-be consuls,  
 ac dictatores, aut etiam reges in cinere (*sing.*) urbis,  
 and dictators, or even kings in the ashes of the city,  
 et sanguine civium, quæ concupierunt  
 and in the blood of the citizens, which (things) they have-coveted  
 consceleratâ ac nefariâ mente? Vident non  
 with criminal and nefarious mind? Do they-see not  
 se cupere id, quod si  
 themselves to desire (that they desire) that, which if  
 adepti fuerint, sit necesse concedi alicui  
 they shall-have-obtained, may-be necessary to be-conceded to some  
 fugitivo aut gladiatori? Tertium genus est jam  
 fugitive or gladiator? The third kind is already

affectum ætate, sed tamen robustum  
 affected by age (is old) but yet robust  
 exercitatione: ex quo genere est Manlius ipse,  
 by exercise: out-of which kind is Manlius himself,  
 cui Catilina nunc succedit. Hi sunt homines ex  
 to whom Catiline now succeeds. These are men out-of  
 iis coloniis quas Sulla constituit Fesulis, universas  
 those colonies which Sulla established at Fesulæ, the whole  
 quas ego sentio esse optimorum civium, et  
 which I perceive to be of the best citizens, and  
 fortissimorum virorum: sed tamen hi sunt coloni,  
 of the bravest men: but yet these are colonists,  
 qui jactarunt se sumtuosius que insolentius  
 who have-boasted themselves too-expensively and too-insolently  
 in insperatis que repentinis pecuniis. Dum hi  
 in (their) un hoped-for and sudden monies. While these  
 ædificant, tamquam beati: dum delectantur  
 build as-if happy (wealthy): while they are-delighted  
 prædiis, lecticis, magnis familiis,  
 with (their) farms, with couches, with great households.  
 apparatis conviviis, inciderunt in  
 with prepared (magnificent) banquets, they have-fallen-in into  
 tantum æs alienum, ut si velint esse salvi,  
 so-great debt, that if they may-wish to-be safe,  
 Sulla sit excitandus iis ab  
 Sulla may to be-raoused to them (Sulla must be raised by them) from  
 inferis: qui etiam impulerunt nonnullos agrestes,  
 the shades-below: who also have-impelled some rustica,  
 tenues atque egentes homines, in illam eandem  
 slender (poor) and needy men, into that same  
 spem veterum rapinarum. Utrosque quos ego,  
 hope of old rapines. Both whom I,  
 Quirites, pono in eodem genere prædatorum que  
 Romans, place in the same kind of plunderers and  
 direptorum. Sed moneo eos hoc: desinant furere,  
 of pillagers. But I advise them this: let them-cessé to rage,  
 ac cogitare proscriptiones et dictaturas. Enim  
 and to devise proscriptions and dictatorships. For

**tantus** dolor illorum temporum est inustus civitati,  
 so-great grief of those times is branded to the state,  
**ut jam non modo homines, sed ne quidem pecudes**  
 hat now not only men, but not-even cattle  
**videantur mihi esse passuræ ista.**  
 may-seem to me to be about-to-suffer those (things).

10. **Quantum genus est sane varium, et mistum,**  
 The fourth kind is truly various, and mixed,  
**et turbulentum: qui jampridem premuntur;**  
 and turbulent: who long-since are-pressed (with debt);  
**qui nunquam emergent: qui vacillant in**  
 who never will emerge (therefrom): who totter in  
**vetere ære alieno, partim inertîâ, partim negotio**  
 old debt, partly by sloth, partly by business  
**gerendo male, partim**  
 to be-carried-on badly (by conducting their business badly), partly  
**etiam sumtibus; qui defatigati vadimoniis,**  
 also by expenses; who being-harassed by recognisances,  
**judiciis, proscriptionibus bonorum,**  
 by judgments, by proscriptions (sequestrations) of goods,  
**permulti dicuntur conferre se et ex urbe**  
 very-many are-said to betake themselves both out-of the city  
**et ex agris in illa castra. Ego arbitror**  
 and out-of the fields into those camps. I think  
**hosce esse non tam acres milites quam**  
 these (latter) to be not so (so much) active soldiers as  
**lentos infitiores. Primum qui homines si possunt**  
 slow cheats. First which men if they are-able  
**non stare, corruant; sed ita, ut non modo**  
 not to stand, let-them-fall; but so, that not only  
**civitas, sed ne quidem proximi vicini sentiant.**  
 the state, but not-even the nearest neighbours may perceive.  
**Nam intelligo non illud, quamobrem, si possunt**  
 For I understand not this, wherefore, if they are-able  
**non vivere honeste, velint perire turpiter;**  
 not to live honourably, they may-wish to perish basely;  
**aut cur arbitrentur se perituros minore**  
 or why they may-think themselves about-to-perish with les

dolore cum multis quam si pereant soli. **Quintum**  
 pain with many than if they may-perish alone. The fifth

genus est parricidarum, sicariorum, denique, omnium  
 genus is of parricides, of assassins, finally, of all

facinorosorum, quos ego revoco non a Catilinâ.  
 the villanous, whom I call-back not from Catiline

**Nam** neque possunt divelli ab eo; et sane  
 For neither are-they-able to-be-torn-away from him; and truly

pereant in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi  
 let-them-perish in robbery (war), since they-are so many

ut carcer possit non capere eos. **Autem**  
 that the prison may-be-able not to take (to hold) them. But

postremum genus non solum numero, verum etiam  
 the last kind not only in number, but also

genere ipso atque vitâ est: quod est proprium  
 in kind itself and in life is (this): which is proper

Catilinæ, de delectu ejus, immo vero  
 to Catiline (peculiarly his own), from the choice of him, yea-even

de complexu ac sinu ejus: quos  
 from the embrace and bosom of (his bosom friends): whom

videtis pexo capillo, nitidos, aut  
 you see with combed (curled) hair, neat (elegant), either

imberbes, aut barbatos bene; tunicis  
 beardless, or bearded well (exquisitely); with tunics

municatis et talaribus; amictos velis,  
 having-sleeves and reaching-to-the-ankles; clothed with veils,

non togis: omnis industria vitæ quorum et  
 not with togas: all the industry of the life of whom and

labor vigilandi expromitur in cœnis  
 labour of watching is-brought-out (exhibited) in suppers

antelucanis. Omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes  
 before-day-break. All gamesters, all adulterers, all

impuri que impudici versantur in his  
 impure and unchaste (persons) are-engaged (associate) in these

gregibus: hi tam lepidi ac delicati pueri didicerunt  
 flocks: these so pretty and delicate boys have-learned

non solum amare et amari, neque cantare et  
 not only to love, and to be loved, nor to sing and



saltare, sed etiam vibrare sicas, et spargere  
to dance, but also to brandish poniards, and to scatter

venena: qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiamsi  
poisons: who unless they go-out, unless they-perish, even-if

Catilina perierit, scitote hoc futurum

Catiline may have-perished, know-ye this about-to-be (that this will be)

Catilinarium seminarium in republicâ. Verumtamen

a Catilinarian seminary (nursery) in the republic. Nevertheless

quid isti miseri volunt sibi? Num

what (do) those wretched (persons) wish for themselves? Whether

sunt ducturi suas mulierculas cum

are-they about-to-lead their little-women (their women) with

se in castra? Autem quemadmodum poterunt

themselves into the camps? But how will they-be-able

carere illis, præsertim jam his noctibus?

to be-without them, especially now in these nights (of November)?

Autem quo pacto illi perferent

But by-what agreement (in what manner) will-they-bear

Apenninum, atque illas pruinas ac nives? Nisi

the Apennine, and those frosts and snows? Unless

putant se toleraturos hiemem facilius

they think themselves about-to-support winter more-easily

idcirco, quod didicerunt saltare nudi in

on-this-account, because they-have-learnt to dance naked in

conviviis.

banquets.

11. O bellum magnopere pertimescendum, cum

O war greatly to be-feared, when

Catilina sit habiturus hanc prætoriam cohortem

Catiline may-be about-to-have this prætorian cohort

scortorum. Instruite nunc, Quirites, vestra

(body guard) of debauchees. Array now, Romans, your

præsidia, que vestros exercitus contra has tam

guards, and your armies against these so

præclaras copias Catilinæ: et primum opponite

famous forces of Catiline: and first oppose

vestros consules que imperatores illi confecto et

your consuls and commanders to that exhausted and

saucio gladiator: deinde educite florem a.  
wounded gladiator: afterwards lead-out the flower and

robur totius Italiæ contra illam ejectam ac  
strength of the whole of Italy against that out-cast and

debilitatam manum naufragorum. Vero  
debilitated hand (band) of shipwrecked (of ruined men). But

jam urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum  
now the cities of (your) colonies and of (your) municipal-towns

respondebunt silvestribus tumulis  
will-answer (will oppose) to the woody (rustic) hillocks

Catilinæ. Neque vero debeo conferre cæteras  
of Catiline. Nor truly ought-I to compare (your) other

copias, vestra ornamenta, præsidia, cum inopiâ atque  
forces, your equipments, guards, with the need and

egestate illius latronis. Sed si, omnibus his rebus  
want of that robber. But if, all these things

omissis, quibus nos suppeditamur, ille eget,  
being-omitted, in which we are-supplied, he is without,

senatu, Romanis equitibus, populo, urbe, ærario,  
a senate, Roman knights, a people, the city, & treasury,

vectigalibus, cunctâ Italiâ, omnibus provinciis,  
revenues, the whole Italy, all the provinces,

exteris nationibus: si, his rebus omissis, velimus  
foreign nations: if, these things being-omitted, we may-wish

contendere causas ipsas, quæ confligunt  
to contend (to compare) the causes themselves, which conflict

inter se, possumus intelligere ex eo  
between themselves, we are-able to understand out-of that

ipso quam valde illi jaceant. Enim  
(thing) itself how very-much they may-lie (are fallen). For

ex hac parte pudor pugnat, illinc  
out-of this part (on this side) modesty fights, thence (on the

petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc  
other side) insolence; hence (on this side) chastity, thence

stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas,  
adultery; hence faith, thence cheating; hence piety,

illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor, hinc  
thence crime; hence constancy, thence madness; hence

nonestas, illine turpitude; hinc continentia, illine  
honesty, thence baseness; hence continence, thence

ubido; denique, æquitas, temperantia, fortitudo,  
last; finally, equity, temperance, fortitude.

prudencia, omnes virtutes certant cum iniquitate, cum  
prudence, all virtues contend with iniquity, with

luxuriâ, cum ignaviâ, cum temeritate, cum omnibus  
luxury, with idleness, with rashness, with all

vitiis; postremo, copiæ cum egestate, bona  
vices; lastly, forces (supplies) with want, good

ratio cum perdita, sana mens cum  
reason with lost (reason), a healthy (sound) mind with

amentia; denique, bona spes configit cum desperatione  
madness; finally, good hope conflicts with despair

omnium rerum. In certamine ac prælio hujusmodi,  
of all things. In a contest and battle of this sort,

nonne, etiamsi studia hominum  
whether-or-not, even-if the desires (support) of men

deficient, immortales dii ipsi cogent tot  
may-fail, the immortal gods themselves will force so-many

et tanta vitia superari ab his præclarissimis  
and so-great vices to be-overcome by these most-famous

virtutibus?  
virtues?

12. Cum quæ sint ita, Quirites, vos defendite  
Since which (things) may-be thus, Romans, do you-defend

vestra tecta quemadmodum jam antea custodiis que  
your roofs as already before with guards and

vigiliis: consultum est ac  
with watches: it has-been-consulted (it has been cared for) and

provisum mihi, ut esset satis præsidii  
provided to be (by me), that there-should-be enough of guard

urbi sine vestro motu, ac sine  
to the city without your motion (without disturbing you), and without

nullo tumultu. Omnes vestri coloni que municipales  
any tumult. All your colonists and municipal

facti certiores a me de  
(citizens) being-made more-certain (being informed) by me concerning

hâc nocturnâ excursionē Catilinæ, defendent facile  
 this nocturnal excursion of Catiline, will defend easily

suas urbes que fines: gladiatores, quam ille  
 their cities and territories: the gladiators, which he (Catiline),

putavit fore maximam et certissimam  
 thought to be-about-to-be a very-great and a very-certain

manum sibi, quamquam sunt meliore animo  
 hand (band) to himself, although they-are with better mind

quam pars patriciorum, tamen continebuntur  
 than a part of the patricians, yet shall-be-retained

nostrâ potestate. Q. Metellus, quem ego,  
 (held in check) by our power. Q. Metellus, whom I,

prospiciens hoc, præmisi in Gallicanum que  
 foreseeing this, sent-before into the Gallic and

Picenum agrum, aut opprimet hominem, aut  
 the Picenian land, either will-oppress the man, or

prohibebit omnes motus que conatus ejus. Autem  
 will hinder all the movements and attempts of him. But

de reliquis rebus constituendis, maturandis,  
 concerning the remaining things to be-appointed, to be-hastened,

agendis, referemus jam ad senatum, quem videtis  
 to be-acted, we will-refer now to the senate, which you see

vocari. Nunc etiam atque etiam volo  
 to be-called. Now also and also (again and again) I wish

illos monitos qui remanserunt in urbe, atque adeo,  
 those (to be) advised who have-remained in the city, and-moreover,

qui relictî sunt a Catilinâ contra salutem urbis,  
 who have-been-left by Catiline against the safety of the city,

que omnium vestrûm, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen  
 and of all you, although they-are enemies, yet

quia nati sunt cives. Si mea lenitas adhuc  
 because they have-been-born citizens. If my mildness hitherto

visa est cui solutio, expectavit  
 has-seemed to any (person) too-loose (too lax), it has-waited-for

hoc, ut id erumperet quod latebat. Quod  
 this, that that might-burst-forth which did lie-concealed. What

est reliquum, possum non jam  
 's remaining (as far as regards the future). I am-able not now

oblivisci hanc esse meam patriam, me esse consulem  
to forget this to be my country, myself to be the consul

horum; aut esse vivendum mihi  
of these; either to be to be-lived to (by) me (that I must either live)

cum his, aut moriendum pro his  
with this, or to be-died for these (or die in defence of these).

Est nullus custos portæ, nullus insidiator  
There is no keeper of the gate (of the city), no plotter

viæ; si qui volunt exire, possunt  
of the way (way-layer); if any wish to go-out, they are-able

consulere sibi. Vero qui commoverit se  
to consult for themselves. But (he) who shall-have-moved himself

in urbe, cujus ego deprehendero non modo  
in the city, of whom I shall-have-detected not only

ullum factum, sed inceptum ve conatum; sentiet  
any deed, but undertaking or attempt; shall-perceive

esse in hac urbe vigilantes consules, esse  
to be (that there are) in this city vigilant consuls, to be

egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma,  
excellent magistrates, to be a bold senate, to be arms,

esse carcerem, quem nostri majores voluerunt esse  
to be a prison, which our ancestors have-wished to be

vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum.  
the avenger of nefarious and of manifest crimes.

13. Atque omnia hæc agentur sic  
And all these (things) shall-be-acted (done) so,

Quirites, ut maximæ res minimo motu, summa  
Romans, that the greatest things with the least commotion, the highest

pericula nullo tumultu, intestinum ac domesticum  
dangers with no tumult, an intestine and domestic

bellum, crudelissimum ac maximum post memoriam  
war, the most-cruel and the greatest after (since) the memory

hominum, sedetur, me uno  
of men, may-be-allayed, myself one (an individual)

togato duce et imperatore. Quod ego  
wearing-the-toga (being) the leader and commander. Which I

administrabo sic, Quirites, ut si poterit fieri  
will administer so, Romans, that if it shall-be-able to be-done



ullo modo, ne quidem quisquam improbus  
 in any manner, not-even any dishonest (person)  
 sufferat poenam sui sceleris in hâc urbe. Sed  
 may undergo the penalty of his crime in this city. But  
 si vis manifestæ audaciæ, si periculum impendens  
 if the violence of manifest audacity, if the danger hanging-over  
 patriæ deduxerint me necessario de hâc  
 to (my) country shall have-led-away me necessarily from this  
 lenitate animi; perficiam profecto illud quod videtur  
 lenity of mind; I will-perform indeed that which seems  
 vix optandum in tanto et tam  
 scarcely to be-wished-for (expected) in so-great and so  
 insidioso bello, ut ne quis bonus intereat, que  
 deceitful war, that not any good (person) may-perish, and  
 vos omnes jam possitis esse salvi poenâ  
 you all now may-be-able to be safe by the penalty  
 paucorum. Quæ quidem ego polliceor  
 (punishment) of a few. Which (things) indeed I promise  
 vobis, Quirites, fretus neque meâ prudentiâ, neque  
 to you, Romans, relying neither on my-own prudence, nor  
 humanis consiliis; sed multis et non dubiis  
 on human counsels; but on many and not doubtful  
 significationibus immortalium deorum, quibus  
 significations (omens) of the immortal gods, who  
 ducibus ego ingressus sum in hanc spem que  
 (being) leaders I have-entered into this hope and  
 sententiam; qui jam defendunt non sua templa  
 opinion; who now defend not their-own temples  
 atque tecta urbis procul, ut quondam  
 and the roofs (houses) of the city afar-off, as once  
 solebant, ab externo atque longinquo hoste,  
 they were-accustomed, from an external and distant enemy  
 sed hic præsentibus suo numine atque auxilio:  
 but here present with their-own influence and aid:  
 quos vos, Quirites, debetis precari, venerari, atque  
 whom you, Romans, ought to pray-to, to adore, and  
 implorare, ut defendant a nefario scelere  
 to implore, that they may-defend from the nefarious crime

perditissimorum      civium,      hanc      urbem,      quam  
 of most-lost (abandoned) citizens.      this      city,      which  
 voluerunt      esse      pulcherrimam,      florentissimam,  
 they have-wished to be      the most-beautiful,      the most flourishing,  
 que      potentissimam,      omnibus      copiis      hostium  
 and      the most-powerful,      all      the forces      of enemies  
 superatis      terrâ      que      mari.  
 being-overcome by land      and      by sea.

TERTIA ORATIO  
*THE THIRD ORATION*  
 AD QUIRITES.  
*TO THE ROMANS.*

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1. QUIRITES, videtis rempublicam, que vitam  
 Romans, you see the republic, and the life  
 vestrûm omnium, bona, fortunas, conjuges, que vestros  
 or you all, goods, fortunes, wives, and your  
 liberos, atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii,  
 children, and this abode of a most-famous empire,  
 fortunatissimam que pulcherrimam urbem, ereptam  
 a most-fortunate and most-beautiful city, snatched  
 ex flammâ atque ferro, ac pæne ex faucibus  
 out-of flame and sword, and almost out-of the jaws  
 fati, et conservatam ac restitutam vobis, hodierno die,  
 of fate, and preserved and restored to you, on-this-day,  
 summo amore immortalium deorum  
 by the highest (very great) love of the immortal gods  
 erga vos, meis laboribus, consiliis que periculis  
 towards you, by my labours, counsels and dangers.  
 Et si ii dies quibus conservamur sunt non minus  
 And if those days in which we are-preserved are not less  
 jucundi atque illustres nobis quam illi quibus  
 pleasant and illustrious to us than those in which  
 nascimur; quod lætitia salutis est certa, conditio  
 we are-born; because the joy of safety is certain, the condition  
 nascendi incerta; et quod nascimur sine  
 of being-born (is) uncertain; and because we are-born without  
 sensu, servamur cum voluptate: profecto quoniam  
 feeling, we are-preserved with pleasure: indeed because

**sustulimus** illum **Romulum**, qui condidit hanc urbem,  
we have-raised that Romulus, who founded this city,

**ad** **immortales** **deos** **benevolentia** que **fama** :  
to the immortal gods with benevolence and with fame :

**is** **debebit** **esse** in honore apud **vos** que **vestros**  
he will-ought to be in honour with (among) you and your

**posteror**, qui servavit hanc eandem urbem **conditam**  
descendants, who has-preserved this same city being-founded

que **amplificatam**. **Nam** **restinximus** **ignes** **jam**  
and enlarged. For we-have-extinguished the fires already

**prope** **subjectos** que **circumdatus** **toti** **urbi**, **templis**,  
nearly cast-under and placed-around to the whole city, to the temples,

**delubris**, **tectis**, **ac** **moenibus**; que  
to the shrines, to the roofs (houses), and to the walls; and (we)

**idem** **retudimus** **gladios** **destrictos** in **republicam**,  
the same have-blunted the swords drawn against the republic,

que **dejecimus** **mucrones** **eorum** **ab**  
and we have-cast-down the points of them (of the swords) from

**vestris** **jugulis**. **Quæ** **quoniam**  
your throats. Which (things) because

**illustrata** **sunt**, **patefacta**, **comperta** in  
they have-been-brought-to-light, made-open, discovered in

**senatu** **per** **me**, **exponam** **jam** **breviter** **vobis**,  
the senate through me, I will-explain now briefly to you,

**Quirites**, **ut** **vos**, qui **ignoratis**, **possitis**  
Romans, that you, who are-ignorant-of (them), may be-able

**scire** **ex** **actis**, **et** **quanta** **et** **quam** **manifesta**,  
to know out-of (from) acts, both how-great and how manifest

**et** **quâ** **ratione** **investigata** **sint**  
(they are), and by what reason (manner) they may have-been-traced

**et** **comprehensa**. **Principio**, **ut** **Catilina** **erupit**  
and detected. In the beginning, when Catiline burst-out

**ex** **urbe** **paucis** **diebus** **ante**, **cum** **reliquisset**  
out-of the city by a few days before, when he might-have-left

**Romæ** **socios** **sui** **sceleris**, **acerrimos**  
of Rome (at Rome) the partners of his crime, the most-active

**duces** **hujusce** **nefarii** **belli**: **vigilavi** **semper**, **et**  
leaders of this nefarious war: I have-watched always, and

providi, Quirites, quemadmodum possemus esse  
 have-foreseen, Romans, in-what-manner we might-be-able to be  
 salvi in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis.  
 safe in so-great and so hidden snares.

2. Nam tum, cum ejiciebam Catilinam ex urbe  
 For then, when I did-cast-out Catiline out-of the city  
 (enim vereor non jam invidiam hujus verbi,  
 (for I fear not now the envy (unpopularity) of this word,  
 cum illa sit magis timenda, quod exierit  
 since that may-be more to-be-feared, because he may have-gone-out  
 vivus), sed tum cum volebam illum exterminari,  
 alive), but then when I did-wish him to be-banished  
 putabam aut reliquam manum conjuratorum  
 I did-think either the remaining band of conspirators  
 exituram simul, aut eos qui restitissent  
 about-to-go-out together, or those who might-have-remained  
 fore infirmos ac debiles sine illo. Atque  
 to be-about-to-be infirm and weak without him. And  
 ego, ut vidi eos, quos sciebam esse inflammatos  
 I, when I saw those, whom I did-know to be inflamed  
 maximo furore et scelere, esse cum nobis, et  
 with the greatest fury and crime, to be with us, and  
 remansisse Romæ, consumsi omnes dies que  
 to have-remained at Rome, consumed all (my) days and  
 noctes in eo, ut sentirem ac viderem quid  
 nights in this, that I might-perceive and I might-see what  
 agerent, quid molirentur: ut, quoniam mea  
 they might-act, what they might-attempt: that, because my  
 oratio faceret minorem fidem vestris auribus,  
 oration might-make less faith to your ears,  
 propter incredibilem magnitudinem  
 (would gain little credit), because of the incredible greatness  
 sceleris, comprehenderem rem ita, ut tum demum  
 of the crime, I might-detect the thing so, that then at-length  
 provideretis vestræ saluti animis, cum  
 you might-foresee (provide) for your safety with (your) minds, when  
 videretis maleficio ipsum oculis. Itaque  
 you might-see the mischief itself with (your) eyes. Therefore



ut comperi legatos Allobrogum  
 when I discovered the ambassadors of the Allobroges  
 sollicitatos esse a P. Lentulo, causâ Transalpini  
 to have-been-solicited by P. Lentulus, for-the-sake of a Transalpine  
 belli, et Gallici tumultûs excitandi, que eos  
 war, and of a Gallic tumult to be-excited, and those  
 missos esse in Galliam ad suos cives, que eodem  
 to have-been-sent into Gaul to their citizens, and by the same  
 itinere, cum litteris que mandatis ad Catilinam, que  
 journey, with letters and commands to Catiline, and  
 Vulturcium adjunctum comitem iis, atque literas  
 Vulturcius joined (as) a companion to them, and letters  
 datas esse huic ad Catilinam, putavi facultatem  
 to have-been-given to him to Catiline, I thought the means  
 oblatam mihi, ut quod erat difficillimum, que  
 offered to me, that (a thing) which was most-difficult, and  
 quod ego semper optabam a immortalibus diis,  
 which I always did-wish-for from the immortal gods,  
 tota res deprehenderetur manifesto non solum  
 that the whole thing might-be-detected manifestly not only  
 a me sed etiam a senatu, et a vobis. Itaque  
 by me but also by the senate, and by you. Therefore  
 hesterno die vocavi ad me L. Flaccum et C. Pomtinum,  
 on-yesterday I called to me L. Flaccus and C. Pomtinus,  
 fortissimos prætores, atque viros amantissimos  
 the most-bold prætors, and men most-loving  
 reipublicæ: exposui omnem rem; ostendi quid  
 of the republic: I explained all the things; I showed what  
 placeret fieri. Autem illi, qui  
 it might-please (what I thought proper) to be-done. But they, who  
 sentirent omnia præclara atque egregia  
 might-feel all illustrious and excellent (sentiments)  
 de republicâ, susceperunt negotium sine  
 concerning the republic, took-up the business without  
 recusatione, ac sine ullâ morâ, et cum  
 refusal, and without any delay, and when  
 advesperasceret, pervenerunt occulte ad Mævium  
 it might-become-evening, they-arrived secretly to (at) the Mævian

pontem, atque fuerunt ibi in proximis villis,  
 bridge, and were there in the nearest country-houses,  
 ita bipartito, ut Tiberis et pons interesset  
 so in-two-parties, that the Tiber and the bridge might-be-between  
 inter eos. Autem et ipsi eduxerunt multos fortes  
 between them. But both they led-out many bold  
 viros eodem sine suspicione cujusquam, et  
 men to-the-same-place without the suspicion of-any-one, and  
 ego miseram ex Reatinâ præfecturâ complures  
 I had-sent out-of the Reatinian prefecture many  
 delectos adolescentes, operâ quorum utor  
 chosen young-men, with the assistance of whom I use  
 assidue in republicâ, præsidio cum gladiis.  
 constantly in the republic, to a guard (as a guard) with swords.  
 Interim tertiâ vigiliâ fere exactâ, cum  
 in-the-mean-time the third watch almost being-completed, when  
 legati Allobrogum inciperent jam ingredi  
 the ambassadors of the Allobroges might-begin already to enter-upon  
 Mulvium pontem cum magno comitatu, quæ  
 the Mulvian bridge with a great attendance, and  
 Vulturcius unâ, impetus fit in eos :  
 Vultureius together (with them), an attack is-made upon them :  
 gladii educuntur et ab illis, et a nostris ; res  
 swords are-drawn-out both by them, and by our (men) ; the thing  
 erat nota prætoribus solis ; ignorabatur a  
 was known to the prætors alone ; it-was-unknown by  
 ceteris.  
 the rest.

### 8. Tum interventu Pontini

Then at-the-coming-between (on the intervention) of Pontinus  
 atque Flacci, pugna, quæ commissæ erat, sedatur  
 and of Flaccus, the fight, which had-been-engaged, is-appeased.  
 Quæcunque litteræ erant in eo comitatu  
 Whatever letters were in that attendance (company)  
 traduntur prætoribus, signis integris ;  
 are-delivered-up to the prætors, with the signs (seals) entire  
 ipsi comprehensi deducuntur ad me, cum  
 themselves being-seized are-led-down to me, when

dilucesceret jam. Atque vocavi statim ad  
 it might-become-daybreak already. And I called immediately to  
 me Cimbrum Gabinium, improbissimum machinatorem  
 me Cimbrus Gabinus, the most-wicked contriver  
 omnium horum scelerum, suspicantem nihilum.  
 of all these crimes, (he) suspecting nothing-as-yet  
 Deinde item L. Statilius arcessitur, et post eum  
 Then also L. Statilius is-sent-for, and after him  
 C. Cethegus; autem Lentulus venit tardissime, credo  
 C. Cethegus; but Lentulus came most-slowly, I believe  
 quod vigilarat proximâ nocte præter  
 because he-had-watched on the-nearest (last) night beyond  
 consuetudinem litteris dandis.  
 (his) custom in letters to be-given (in giving the letters).  
 Vero cum placeret summis ac clarissimis  
 But when it might-please (seem fit) to the highest and most-famous  
 viris hujus civitatis, qui, re auditâ, convenerant  
 men of this state, who, the thing being-heard, had-come-together  
 frequentes ad me mane, litteras aperiri  
 frequent (in numbers) to me in-the-morning, the letters to be-opened  
 a me prius quam deferri ad senatum; ne, si nihil  
 by me before than to be-referred to the senate; lest, if nothing  
 inventum esset, tantus tumultus videretur  
 might-have-been-found, so-great disturbance might-seem (to be)  
 injectus civitati a me temere; negavi me esse  
 cast-in to the state by me rashly; I denied myself to be  
 facturum, ut deferrem non integram rem  
 about-to-make, that I should-refer not the entire thing  
 de publico periculo ad publicum consilium.  
 concerning the public danger to the public council.  
 Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quæ delata erant  
 For, Romans, if those (things), which had-been-referred  
 ad me, reperta essent non; tamen ego  
 (reported) to me, might-have-been-found not; yet I  
 arbitrabar non nimiam diligentiam esse pertimescendam  
 did-think not too-great diligence to be to be-feared  
 mihi in tantis periculis reipublicæ. Coëgi  
 to me (by me) in so-great dangers of the republic. I collected

**celeriter frequentem senatum, ut vidistis**  
 quickly a frequent (numerous) senate, as you have-seen.

**Atque interea, admonitu Allobrogum, misi**  
 And in-the-mean-time, by the advice of the Allobroges, I sent

**statim C. Sulpicium, prætorem, fortem virum, qui,**  
 immediately C. Sulpicius, the prætor, a bold man, who,

**si esset quid telorum, efferret**  
 If there-might-be any (thing) of weapons, might-bring-(them)-out

**ex ædibus (plur.) Cethegi; ex quibus ille**  
 out-of the house of Cethegus; out-of which he

**extulit maximum numerum sicarum et**  
 brought-out a very-great number of poniards and

**gladiorum.**

of swords.

**4. Introduxi Vulturcium sine Gallis; dedi**  
 I led-in Vulturcius without the Gauls; I gave

**ei publicam fidem, jussu senatus; hortatus sum**  
 to him the public faith, by order of the senate; I exhorted

**ut indicaret ea, quæ sciret sine**  
 that he should-indicate those (things), which he might-know without

**timore. Tum ille, cum recreasset se vix**  
 fear. Then he, when he might-have-recovered himself scarcely

**ex magno timore, dixit, se habere mandata et**  
 out-of the great fear, said, himself to have commands and

**litteras a P. Lentulo ad Catilinam, ut uteretur**  
 letters from P. Lentulus to Catiline, that he-should-use

**præsidio servorum, et accederet cum**  
 with guard (the help) of slaves, and should-approach with

**exercitu ad urbem quam primum; autem id eo**  
 the army to the city as-soon-as-possible; but that with this

**consilio, ut cum incendissent urbem ex**  
 design, that when they might-have-set-fire-to the city out-of

**omnibus partibus, quemadmodum descriptum erat**  
 all parts, as it-had-been-described

**que distributum, que fecissent infinitam cædem**  
 and distributed, and might-have-made an infinite slaughter

**civium, ille esset præsto qui et exciperet**  
 of citizens, he might-be at-hand who both might-catch (those)

fugientes, et conjungeret se cum his ducibus  
fleeing, and might-unite himself with these leaders

urbanis. Autem Galli introducti dixerunt  
belonging-to-the-city. But the Gauls being-led-in said

jusjurandum et litteras datas esse sibi a  
an oath and letters to have-given to themselves by

P Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad suam gentem;  
P. Lentulus, Cethegus, (and) Statilius to their nation;

atque ita præscriptum esse sibi ab his et a  
and thus to have-been-prescribed to themselves by these and by

L. Cassio, ut mitterent equitatum in Italiam  
L. Cassius, that they should-send cavalry into Italy

quam primum, pedestres copias non defuturas  
as-soon-as-possible, foot-forces not about-to-be-wanting

sibi; autem Lentulum confirmasse sibi ex  
to them; but Lentulus to have-confirmed to them out-of

Sibyllinis fatis que responsis haruspicum, se esse  
the Sybilline fates and the answers of diviners, himself to be

illum tertium Cornelium, ad quem esset necesse  
that third Cornelius, to whom it might-be necessary

regnum hujus urbis atque imperium pervenire:  
the kingdom (rule) of this city and the command to arrive:

Cinnam et Sullam fuisse ante se; que eundem  
Cinna and Sulla to have-been before himself; and the same

dixisse hunc esse annum fatalem ad  
(person) to have-said this to be the year ordained-by-fate to (for)

interitum hujus urbis atque imperii, qui esset  
the destruction of this city and empire, which might-be

decimus annus post absolutionem virginum, autem  
the tenth year after the acquitting of the virgins, but

vicesimus post incensionem Capitolii. Autem  
the twentieth after the setting-on-fire of the Capitol. But

dixerunt hanc controversiam fuisse Cethego cum  
they said this dispute to have-been to Cethegus with

cæteris, quod, placeret Lentulo et ceteris  
the rest, because, it might-please to Lentulus and to the rest

cædem fieri, atque urbem incendi  
the slaughter to be-made, and the city to be set-on-fire



Saturnalibus, id videri nimium longum  
 on the Saturnalia, that to-seem too-long

Cethego.  
 to Cethegus.

5. Ac, ne sit longum, Quirites, jussimus  
 And, lest it may-be long (tedious), Romans, we-ordered  
 tabellas proferri, quæ dicebantur  
 the tablets (letters) to be-brought-forward, which were said

datae (esse) a quoque: primum ostendimus signum  
 to have been-given by each: first we showed the sign (seal),

Cethego; cognovit: nos incidimus linum;  
 to Cethegus; he acknowledged (it): we cut the thread

legimus; erat scriptum manu ipsius senatus  
 we read; it was written with the hand of himself to the senate

et populo Allobrogum, sese esse facturum  
 and to the people of the Allobroges, himself to be about-to-do

quæ confirmasset legatis  
 (the things) which he might-have-confirmed (affirmed) to the ambassadors

eorum: orare ut item illi facerent quæ  
 of them: to beg that also they would-do (the things) which

legati eorum recipissent sibi.  
 the ambassadors of them received to them (might have taken on

Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante  
 themselves to promise). Then Cethegus, who a little before

respondisset aliquid de gladiis ac siccis  
 might-have-answered some (thing) concerning the swords and poniards,

quæ deprehensæ erant apud ipsum, quæ  
 which had been-discovered with him (at his house), and

dixisset se semper fuisse studiosum  
 might-have-said himself always to have-been studious (an admirer)

bonorum ferramentorum, debilitatus atque abjectus,  
 of good weapons, weakened and cast-down,

litteris recitatis, convictus conscientiâ, repente  
 the letters being-read-aloud, convicted by consciousness, suddenly

conticuit. Statilius introductus cognovit manum  
 became-silent. Statilius being-led-in acknowledged (his) hand

et suum signum; tabellæ recitatae sunt in fere  
 and his seal; tablets (letters) were-read-aloud unto nearly

eandem sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi  
the same purpose; he confessed. Then I showed

tabellas Lentulo, et quæsi vi ne  
the tablets (letters) to Lentulus, and I sought (asked) whether

cognosceret signum; annuit; vero signum  
he would-acknowledge the seal; he nodded-assent; but the seal

quidem est notum, inquam, imago clarissimi  
indeed is known, I said, the image of the most-famous

vir tui avi, qui amavit patriam et suos cives  
man thy grandfather, who loved (his) country and his citizens

unice, quæ quidem etiam muta debuit  
singularly, which (image) indeed even (although) dumb ought

revocare te a tanto scelere. Litteræ ad senatum  
to recall thee from so-great crime. The letters to the senate

que populum Allobrogum leguntur eâdem ratione:  
and people of the Allobroges are-read in the same reason

si vellet dicere quid de his  
manner): if he might-wish to say any (thing) concerning these

rebus, feci potestatem. Atque ille quidem primo  
things, I made (gave) power. And he indeed at-first

negavit; autem aliquanto post, toto indicio  
denied; but somewhat after, the whole discovery

exposito atque edito, surrexit: quæsi vit a  
being-explained and being-published, he rose: he sought (asked) from

Gallis, quid esset sibi cum iis,  
the Gauls, what might-be to himself with them (what he had to do

quamobrem venissent suam domum;  
with them), wherefore they should-have-come (to) his house;

que item a Vulturcio. Qui cum respondissent  
and also from Vulturecius. Who when they-might-have-answered

illi breviter que constanter, per quem que quoties  
to him briefly and constantly, through whom and how-often

venissent ad eum; que quæsi ssent  
they might-have-come to him; and they might-have-sought (asked)

ab eo ne locutus esset nihil secum  
from him whether he might-have-spoken nothing with-them

de Sibyllinis fatis: tum ille, subito demens  
concerning the Sibylline fates: then he, suddenly mad

scelere, ostendit quanta vis conscientiæ  
with crime, showed how-great the force of consciousness

esset; nam cum posset inficiari id, repente  
might-be; for when he might-be-able to deny that, suddenly

præter opinionem omnium, confessus est: ita  
beyond (contrary to) the opinion of all, he confessed: thus

non modo illud ingenium et exercitatio dicendi,  
not only that ability and exercise of speaking,

quâ valuit semper, sed etiam, propter vim  
in which he prevailed always, but also, because-of the force

manifesti atque deprehensi sceleris, impudentia,  
of manifest and of detected crime, (his) impudence,

quâ superabat omnes, que improbitas defecit.  
in which he did-surpass all, and dishonesty failed (him).

Vero Vulturcius subito jussit litteras proferri  
But Vulturcius suddenly ordered the letters to be-brought-forward

atque aperiri, quas dicebat datas esse sibi  
and to be-opened, which he did-say to have-been-given to him

a Lentulo ad Catilinam. Atque ibi Lentulus  
by Lentulus to (for) Catiline. And there (then) Lentulus

perturbatus vehementissime, tamen cognovit et  
being-disturbed most-violently, yet acknowledged both

suum signum et manum; autem erant scriptæ  
his the seal and hand; but they were written

sine nomine, sed ita: "Cognosces qui sim ex  
without a name, but thus: "Thou wilt-know who I may-be out-of

eo quem misi ad te. Cura ut sis  
(from) him whom I have-sent to thee. Take-care that thou mayst-be

vir, et cogita in quem locum progressus sis,  
a man, and think (consider) into what a place thou mayst-have-advanced,

et vide quid jam sit necesse tibi. Cura ut  
and see what now may-be necessary for you. Take-care that

adjungas tibi auxilia omnium, etiam infimorum."  
thou mayst-join to thee the aids of all, even of the lowest."

Deinde Gabinius introductus cum primo cœpisset  
Then Gabinius being-led-in when at-first he might-have-begun

respondere impudenter, ad extremum negavit nihil  
to answer impudently, to (at) the last he denied nothing

**ex** iis quæ Galli insimulabant  
 out-of those (things) which the Gauls did accuse (lay to his charge)

**Ac cum illa** visa sunt mihi quidem, Quirites,  
 And when those (things) seemed to me indeed, Romans,

**certissima argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellæ,**  
 most-certain arguments and discoveries of crime, the letters,

**signa, manus, denique, confessio uniuscujusque:**  
 seals, the hands, lastly, the confession of each:

**tum illa** multo certiora, color,  
 then (so) these (seemed to me) by much more-certain, the colour,

**oculi, vultus, taciturnitas. Enim** obstupuerant  
 the eyes, the look, the silence. For they had-become-astonished

**sic, intuebantur terram sic, nonnumquam**  
 so, they did-look-upon the earth so, sometimes

**adspiciebant inter se sic furtim,**  
 they did-look among themselves (one upon the other) so by-stealth,

**ut viderentur non jam indicari ab aliis, sed**  
 that they might-seem not now to be-denounced by others, but

**ipsi indicare se.**  
 themselves to denounce themselves.

**6. Indiciis expositis atque editis,**  
 The discoveries being-explained and being-published,

**Quirites, consului senatum, quid placeret**  
 Romans, I consulted the senate, what it might-please (them)

**feri de summâ republicâ. Acerrimæ ac**  
 to be-done concerning the chief republic. Most-severe and

**fortissimæ sententiæ dictæ sunt a principibus,**  
 most-bold opinions were-said by the chief (senators),

**quas senatus consecutus est sine ullâ varietate. Et**  
 which the senate followed without any variety. And

**quoniam consultum senatus nondum perscriptum est,**  
 since the decree of the senate not-yet has-been-transcribed,

**exponam ex memoriâ vobis, Quirites, quid**  
 I will-explain out-of memory to-you, Romans, what

**senatus censuerit. Primum gratiæ aguntur**  
 the senate may-have-voted. First thanks are-acted (given)

**mihi amplissimis verbis, quod respublica**  
 to me in most-ample words, because the republic

liberata sit maximis periculis virtute,  
 may have-been-liberated from the greatest dangers by (my) valour,  
 consilio, meâ providentiâ: deinde L. Flaccus et  
 by (my) counsel, by my foresight: then L. Flaccus and  
 C. Pomtinus, prætores, laudantur merito ac jure,  
 C. Pomtinus, the prætors, are-praised deservedly and with right,  
 quod usus essem forti que fideli  
 because I might-have-used (experienced) with the bold and faithful  
 operâ eorum; atque etiam laus impertitur forti  
 assistance of them; and also praise is-imparted to the bold  
 viro, meo collegæ, quod removisset a suis  
 man, to my colleague, because he might-have-removed from his-own  
 consiliis et reipublicæ eos qui fuissent  
 counsels and (from those) of the republic those who might-have-been  
 participes hujus conjurationis. Atque censuerunt ita,  
 partakers of this conspiracy. And they voted thus,  
 ut P. Lentulus, cum abdicasset se  
 that P. Lentulus, when he-might-have-abdicated himself  
 præturâ, tum traderetur in custodiam;  
 from the prætorship, then should-be-delivered-up into custody;  
 que item uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus,  
 and also that C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus,  
 qui omnes erant præsentés, traderentur in  
 who all were present, should-be-delivered-up into  
 custodiam; atque hoc idem decretum est in  
 custody; and this same (thing) was-decreed against  
 L. Cassium, qui deposcerat sibi procurationem  
 L. Cassius, who had-required for himself the management  
 urbis incendendæ: in M. Cæparium, cui  
 of the city to be-set-on-fire: against M. Cæparius, to whom  
 indicatum erat Apuliam attributam esse  
 it had-been-indicated (it appeared) Apulia to have-been-assigned  
 ad pastores sollicitandos: in P. Furium, qui  
 to (&r) the shepherds to be-solicited: against P. Furius, who  
 est ex his colonis, quos L. Sulla deduxit  
 is out-of (from) those colonists, whom L. Sulla led-down (to)  
 Fæsulæ; in Q. Manlium Chilonem, qui semper  
 Fæsulæ against Q. Manlius Chilo, who always



versatus erat una cum hoc Furio in hæc  
had-been-engaged together with this Furius in this

sollicitatione Allobrogum; in P. Umbrenum,  
solicitation of the Allobroges; against P. Umbrenus,

libertinum hominem, a quo constabat Gallos  
a freed-man, by whom it was-evident the Gauls

primum perductos esse ad Gabinium. Atque senatus  
first to have-been-led to Gabinius. And the senate

usus est eâ lenitate, Quirites, ut ex tantâ  
used with that mildness, Romans, that out-of so-great

conjuracione, que tantâ vi ac multitudine  
a conspiracy, and so-great force and multitude

domesticorum hostium, republicâ conservatâ,  
of domestic enemies, the republic being-preserved,

arbitraretur mentes reliquorum posse sanari  
it might-think the minds of the rest to be-able to be-cured

pœnâ novem perditissimorum hominum.  
by the punishment of nine most-lost (most abandoned) men.

Atque etiam, Quirites, supplicatio decreta est meo  
And also, Romans, a thanksgiving was-decreed in my

nomine immortalibus diis, pro singulari merito  
name to the immortal gods, for the singular merit

eorum; quod contigit primum mihi  
of these (things); which (thing) has happened first to me

togato post hanc urbem conditam;  
wearing-the-toga (a civilian) after (since) this city being-built;

et decreta est his verbis, "Quod liberassem  
and it was-decreed in these words, "Because I might-have-freed

urbem incendiis, cives cæde, Italian  
the city from conflagrations, the citizens from slaughter, Italy

bello." Si quæ supplicatio conferatur cum ceteris,  
from war." If which thanksgiving may be-compared with others,

Quirites, hoc intersit, quod ceteræ,  
Romans, this may be-the-difference, that others (have been appointed),

republicâ gestâ bene, hæc una constituta est,  
the republic being-carried-on well, this alone has been-appointed.

conservatâ. Atque illud, quod fuit faciendum  
(the state) being-preserved And this, which was to-be-done

primum, factum est atque transactum. Nam quamquam  
 first, was-done and dispatched. For although

P. Lentulus, patefactus indicia et suis  
 P. Lentulus, being-exposed by discoveries and by his-own

confessionibus, judicio senatûs, amiserat non  
 confessions, by the judgment of the senate, had-lost not

modo jus prætoris, verum etiam civis; tamen  
 only the right of prætor, but also of citizen; yet

abdicavit se magistratu; ut quæ religio  
 he abdicated himself from the magistracy; that what scruple

fuerat non C. Mario clarissimo viro, quo minus  
 had-been not to C. Marius a most-famous man, by which less

occideret C. Glauciam, prætorem, de quo nihil  
 he should kill C. Glaucias, a prætor, concerning whom nothing

decretum erat nominatim, nos liberaremur eâ  
 had-been-decreed by-name, we should-be-freed from that

religione in P. Lentulo privato puniendo.  
 scruple in P. Lentulus a private (person) to be-punished.

7. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, tenetis nefarios  
 Now since, Romans, you-hold the nefarious

duces sceleratissimi que periculosissimi belli  
 leaders of (this) most-wicked and most-dangerous war

jam captos et comprehensos, debetis existimare  
 already taken and detected, you ought to think

omnes copias Catilinæ, omnes spes atque opes,  
 all the forces of Catiline, all (his) hopes and resources,

concidisse, his periculis urbis depulsis. Quem  
 to have-fallen, this dangers of the city being-driven-off. Whom

quidem ego, cum ego pellebam ex urbe,  
 indeed I, when I did-drive out-of the city,

providebam hoc animo, Quirites, Catilinâ remoto,  
 did-foresee this in (my) mind, Romans, Catiline being-removed,

nec somnum P. Lentuli, nec adipem L. Cassii,  
 neither the sleep of P. Lentulus, nor the fat of L. Cassius,

nor furiosam temeritatem Cethegi esse pertimescendam  
 nor the furious rashness of Cethegus to be to be-feared

mihi. Ille unus ex omnibus his erat  
 to (by) me. He one (alone) (Catiline) out-of all these was

**timendus**, sed **tamdiu dum** **continebatur** **mœnibus**  
to be-feared, but (only) so-long while he was-contained by the walls  
**urbis.** **Norat** **omnia,** **tenebat**  
of the city. He had-known (he knew) all (things), he did-hold

**aditus omnium;** **poterat** **audebat**  
(understand) the accesses of all; he was-able (and) did-dare

**appellare,** **tentare,** **sollicitare:** **erat ei**  
to call (salute), to try, to solicit: there-was to him (he had

**consilium aptum ad** **facinus;** **autem neque** **lingua**  
counsel fit to (for) daring-deed; but neither (his) tongue

**neque manus** **deerat** **consilio.** **Jam** **habebat**  
nor hand was-wanting to (that) counsel. Already he did-have

**certos homines delectos ac descriptos** **ad**  
certain men chosen and described (appointed) to (for)

**certas res** **conficiendas.** **Vero** **neque,** **cum**  
certain things to be-completed. But neither, when

**mandaverat** **aliquid,** **putabat** **confectum.**  
he had-commanded some (thing), did he think (it) completed.

**Erat nihil** **quod ipse** **obiret** **non,** **occurreret,**  
There-was nothing which himself would-undergo not, would-oppose

**vigilaret,** **laboraret:** **poterat**  
(would lend aid to), would-watch, would-labour (not): he was-able

**ferre frigus,** **sitim,** **famer** **Nisi ego** **compulissem**  
to bear cold, thirst, hunger. Unless I might-have-driven

**hunc hominem tam acrem,** **tam paratum,** **tam audacem,**  
this man so active, so prepared, so bold,

**tam callidum,** **tam vigilantem in scelere,** **tam diligentem**  
so cunning, so vigilant in crime, so diligent

**in perditis** **rebus,** **ex domesticis insidiis in**  
in lost (abandoned) things, out-of domestic snares into

**latrocinium** **castrense** **(dicam id,**  
robbery belonging-to-the-camp (war) (I will-say that,

**quod sentio,** **Quirites),** **depulissem** **non facile**  
which I think, Romans), I should-have-driven-off not easily

**hanc tantam molem mali a vestris cervicibus.** **Ille**  
this so-great mass of evil from your necks. He

**constituisset** **non** **Saturnalia** **nobis,** **neque**  
would-have-appointed not the Saturnalia for us, nor

denuntiasset tanto ante diem exitii et  
 would-have-denounced by so-much before the day of destruction and  
 fati reipublicæ, neque commisisset, ut  
 of fate to the republic, nor would he-have-committed, that (his)  
 signum, ut denique suæ litteræ deprehenderentur  
 seal, that in-fine his-own letters should-be-discovered  
 testes manifesti sceleris. Quæ nunc  
 witnesses of manifest crime. Which (things) now  
 gesta sunt, ille absente sic, ut nullum furtum  
 have-been-carried-on, he being-absent so, that no theft  
 in privatâ domo umquam inventum sit tam  
 in a private house ever may-have-been-found-out so  
 palam, quam hæc tanta conjuratio in republica  
 openly, as this so-great conspiracy in the republic  
 inventa est atque deprehensa manifesto. Quod si  
 has-been-found-out and discovered manifestly. But-if  
 Catilina remansisset in urbe ad hanc diem,  
 Catiline might-have-remained in the city to this day,  
 quamquam quoad fuit occurri atque obstiti  
 although as-long-as he was (here) I met and I opposed  
 omnibus consiliis ejus, tamen, ut dicam  
 to all the counsels (designs) of him, yet, that I may-say  
 levissime, fuisset dimicandum  
 most-lightly (to say the least), it would-have-been to be-fought  
 nobis cum illo, neque nos umquam, dum ille hostis  
 to (by) us with him, nor we ever, while that enemy  
 fuisset in urbe, liberassemus rempublicam  
 might-have-been in the city, should-have-freed the republic  
 tantis periculis, tantâ pace, tanto otio,  
 from so-great dangers, with so-great peace, with so-great ease,  
 tanto silentio.  
 with so-great silence.

8. Quamquam omnia hæc, Quirites,  
 Although all these (things) Romans,  
 administrata sunt a me ita, ut videantur et  
 have-been-managed by me so, that they may-seem both  
 gesta esse et provisâ nutu  
 to have-been-carried-on and foreseen (provided for) at the nod (will)

atque consilio immortalium deorum. Que cum  
and counsel of the immortal gods. And when

possumus consequi id conjecturâ, quod gubernatio  
we are-able to arrive-at that by-conjecture, because the governance

tantarum rerum videtur vix potuisse esse  
of so-great things seems scarcely to have-been-able to be (the work)

humani consilii: vero tum ita præsentes tulerunt  
of human counsel: but then so present they brought

opem et auxilium nobis his temporibus, ut  
assistance and aid to us in these times, that

possemus pæne videre eos oculis. Nam, ut  
we might-be-able almost to see them with the eyes. For, that

omittam illa, faces que ardorem cœli  
I may-omit these (things), the torches and the burning of the heaven

visas ab occidente nocturno tempore, ut  
seen from the west in the nocturnal time, that (I may omit)

jactus fulminum, ut motus terræ, ut  
the castings of lightnings, that the motions of the earth, that (I may omit)

cetera, quæ tam multa facta sunt,  
other (things), which (being) so many were-done (happened),

nobis consulibus, ut immortales dii viderentur  
us (being) consuls, so-that the immortal gods might-seem

canere hæc quæ nunc fiunt:  
to sing (foretel) these (things) which now are-done (happen):

certe, Quirites, hoc quod sum dicturus est neque  
certainly, Romans, this which I am about-to-say is neither

prætermittendum neque relinquendum. Nam profecto  
to be-passed-over nor to be-left. For indeed

tencis memoriâ, Cottâ et Torquato consulibus,  
you hold in memory, Cotta and Torquatus (being) consuls,

complures res in Capitolio percussas esse de cœlo,  
many things in the Capitol to have-been-struck from heaven,

cum et simulacra immortalium deorum depulsa sunt,  
when both the images of the immortal gods were-thrust-down,

et statuæ veterum hominum dejectæ, et æra (*plur.*)  
and the statues of ancient men cast-down, and the brass

legum liquefacta. Etiam ille Romulus,  
(brass tablets) of the laws melted. Also that Romulus



qui condidit hanc urbem, tactus est: quem  
 who founded this city, was-touched (scathed): whom  
 meministis fuisse in Capitolio inauratum  
 you-remembered to have-been in the Capitol overlaid-with-gold  
 parvum atque lactentem, inhiantem uberibus  
 little and sucking, gaping-after to the teats  
 lupinis. Quo tempore quidem, cum  
 belonging-to-the-wolf. At which time indeed, when  
 aruspices convenissent ex totâ Etruriâ,  
 diviners might-have-come-together out of the whole Tuscany,  
 dixerunt cædes atque incendia, et interitum  
 they said slaughters and conflagrations, and the destruction  
 egum, et civile ac domesticum bellum, et occasum  
 of the laws, and civil and domestic war, and the fall  
 totius urbis atque imperii appropinquare, nisi  
 of the whole city and empire to approach, unless  
 immortales dii placati omni ratione,  
 the immortal gods being-appeased in every reason (manner),  
 flexissent prope fata ipsa suo  
 might-have-bent (diverted) almost the fates themselves by their  
 numine. Itaque responsis illorum tunc  
 divinity (influence). Therefore at the answers of them then  
 et ludi facti sunt per decem dies, neque ulla  
 both games were-made through ten days, neither any  
 res prætermissa est quæ pertineret ad  
 thing was-omitted which might-pertain (tend) to  
 placandum deos; que iidem jusserunt facere  
 appeasing the gods; and the same (diviners) ordered to make  
 simulacrum Jovis majus, et collocare in excelso,  
 the image of Jupiter greater, and to place (it) in a lofty  
 et contra atque fuerat ante,  
 (situation), and on-the-contrary and (than) it had-been before,  
 convertere ad orientem; ac dixerunt se sperare,  
 to turn (it) to the east; and they said themselves to hope,  
 si illud signum, quod videtis, conspiceret  
 if that sign (statue), which you see, should-view (should look  
 ortum solis, et forum, que curiam,  
 towards) the rising of the sun, and the forum, and the council-house

fore, ut ea consilia, quæ  
 to be-about-to-be (that it would be) that those counsels, which  
 inita essent clam contra salutem urbis  
 might-have-been-entered-into secretly against the safety of the city  
 atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut  
 and of the empire, would-be-brought-so-clearly-to-light, that  
 possent perspicui a senatu que Romano  
 they might-be-able to be seen-through by the senate and Roman  
 populo. Atque illi consules locaverunt  
 people. And those consuls placed-out (made arrangements for)  
 illud collocandum ita; sed tanta fuit tarditas  
 that to be-placed thus; but so-great was the slowness  
 operis, ut collocaretur neque a superioribus  
 of the work, that it might-be-placed neither by the former  
 consulibus, neque a nobis ante hodiernum diem.  
 consuls, nor by us before this-day.

9. Hic quis potest, Quirites, esse tam aversus  
 Here who is-able, Romans, to be so averse

a vero, tam præceps, tam captus mente,  
 from the truth, so headlong, so taken in mind (deprived

qui neget omnia hæc quæ  
 of understanding), who may deny all these (things) which

videmus, que præcipue hanc urbem, administrari  
 we see, and especially this city, to be-managed

nutu atque potestate immortalium Deorum?  
 by the nod and by the power of the immortal Gods?

Etenim cum responsum esset ita, cædes,  
 For when it might-have-been-answered thus, slaughters,

incendia, que interitum reipublicæ comparari,  
 conflagrations, and the destruction of the republic to be-prepared

et ea a perditis civibus; quæ  
 and these (things) by lost (abandoned) citizens; which (things)

tum videbantur nonnullis incredibilia propter  
 then did-seem to some incredible because of

magnitudinem scelerum: sensistis ea  
 the greatness of the crimes: you have-perceived these (things)

non modo cogitata esse, verum etiam suscepta a  
 not only to have-been-devised, but even undertaken by

nefariis civibus. Vero nonne est illud ita præsens,  
 nefarious citizens. But is-not this so present,  
 ut videatur factum esse nutu optimi.  
 that it may-seem to have-been-done by the nod of the best,  
 maximi Jovis, ut, cum hodierno die mane et  
 the greatest Jupiter, that, when on this-day in the morning both  
 conjurati et indices eorum  
 the conspired (the conspirators) and the discoverers (accusers) of them  
 ducerentur meo jussu per forum in ædem  
 might-be-led by my order through the forum into the temple  
 Concordiæ, eo tempore ipso signum  
 of Concord, in that time itself the sign (statue)  
 statueretur? Quo collocato atque converso ad  
 might-be-erected? Which being-placed and being-turned to  
 vos que senatum, et senatus et vos vidistis omnia  
 you and the senate, both the senate and you saw all  
 quæ cogitata erant contra salutem omnium,  
 (things) which had-been-devised against the safety of all,  
 illustrata et patefacta. Quo isti  
 brought-to-light and exposed. By which (for which reason) those  
 sunt digni etiam majore odio que supplicio,  
 (persons) are worthy even with greater hatred and punishment,  
 qui conati sunt inferre funestos ac nefarios  
 who have-endeavoured to bring-on fatal and nefarious  
 ignes non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed  
 fires not only to your abodes and to your roofs, but  
 etiam templis atque delubris Deorum. Quibus  
 also to the temples and to the shrines of the Gods. To whom  
 si ego dicam me restitisse, sumam nimium  
 if I may-say myself to have-resisted, I shall-take too-much  
 mihi, et sim non ferendus. Ille, ille Jupiter  
 to myself, and may-be not to be borne. That, that Jupiter  
 restitit: ille voluit Capitolium, ille hæc templa, ille  
 resisted: he wished the Capitol, he these temples, he  
 hanc urbem, ille vos omnes esse salvos. Ego  
 this city, he (wished) you all to be safe. I  
 suscepi hanc mentem que voluntatem, Quirites,  
 have-taken-up this mind and wish, Romans,

immortalibus Diis ducibus, atque perveni ad  
the immortal Gods (being) leaders, and I have arrived to

hæc tanta indicia. Vero jam illa sollicitatio  
these so-great discoveries. But now that solicitation

Allobrogum, tanta res, numquam credita (esset)  
of the Allobroges, so-great a thing, never would-have-been-trusted

sic a Lentulo que ceteris domesticis hostibus, tam  
thus by Lentulus and by the other domestic enemies, as

dementer et ignotis et barbaris,  
madly both to unknown and to barbarous (foreign persons),

que litteræ profecto numquam commissæ essent,  
and the letters indeed never would-have-been-entrusted,

nisi consilium ereptum esset huic  
unless counsel (discretion) might-have-been-snatched-away from this

tantæ audaciæ a immortalibus Diis. Vero quid?  
so-great audacity by the immortal Gods. But what

ut homines Galli, ex civitate  
(why shall I mention)? that men Gauls, out-of a state

male pacatâ, quæ una gens restat, quæ videatur  
ill appeased, which one (only) nation remains, which may-seem

et posse et non nolle facere bellum Romano  
both to be-able and not to be-unwilling to make war to the Roman

populo, negligerent spem imperii et amplissimarum  
people, should-neglect the hope of empire and of the most-ample

rerum ultro oblatam sibi a patriciis hominibus,  
things willingly offered to themselves by patrician men,

que anteponerent vestram salutem suis opibus:  
and should-prefer your safety to their-own powers:

putatis id non factum esse divinitus? præsertim  
do you-think that not to have-been-done divinely? especially

qui superarent nos non pugnando, sed tacendo.  
who might-overcome us not by fighting, but by keeping-silence.

10. Quamobrem, Quirites, quoniam supplicatio  
Wherefore, Romans, since a thanksgiving

decreta est ad omnia pulvinaria, celebratote  
has been-decreed to (at) all the cushions (temples), celebrate

illos dies cum vestris conjugibus ac liberis. Nam  
those days with your wives and children. For

sæpe multi justī honores habiti sunt ac debiti  
 often many just honours have-been-held and due  
 immortalibus Diis, sed profecto numquam justiores.  
 to the immortal Gods, but indeed never more-just

Enim erepti ex crudelissimo ac  
 (than these). For being-snatched out-of the most-cruel and  
 miserrimo interitu, et erepti sine cæde,  
 most-wretched destruction, and being-snatched without slaughter,  
 sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione,  
 without blood, without an army, without fighting,

togati vicistis, me uno  
 (you) wearing-the-toga have-conquered, me one (person)

togato duce et imperatore. Etenim  
 wearing-the-toga (being) leader and commander. For

recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones,  
 you-recollect, Romans, all the civil disagreements,

neque solum eas, quas audistis, sed et  
 nor (and not) only those, which you have-heard, but and (also)

has, quas vosmetipsi meministis et vidistis.  
 these, which you-yourself have-remembered and have-seen.

L. Sulla oppressit P. Sulpicium: ejecit ex  
 L. Sulla oppressed (destroyed) P. Sulpicius: he cast-out out-of

urbe C. Marius, custodem hujus urbis, que partim  
 the city C. Marius, the keeper of this city, and partly

ejecit ex civitate, partim interemit multos fortes  
 east-out out-of the state, partly slew many bold

viros. Cn. Octavius, consul, expulit suum collegam  
 men. Cn. Octavius, the consul, expelled his colleague

ex urbe armis: omnis hic locus redundavit  
 out-of the city by arms: all this place has-overdowed

acervis corporum et sanguine civium.  
 (abounded) with heaps of bodies and with the blood of citizens.

Postea Cinna cum Mario superavit:  
 Afterwards Cinna with Marius overcame (got the upper hand):

vero tum, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina  
 but then, the most-famous men being-slain, the lights

civitatis extincta sunt. Postea Sulla ultus est  
 of the state were-extinguished. Afterwards Sulla revenged



crudelitatem hujus victoriæ: neque est quidem  
the cruelty of this victory: nor is-it indeed

opus dici, quantâ diminutione civium,  
necessary to be-said, with how-great diminution of citizens,

et quantâ calamitate reipublicæ. M. Lepidus  
and with how-great calamity of the republic. M. Lepidus

dissensit a clarissimo et fortissimo viro,  
dissented from the most-famous and most-brave man,

Q. Catulo: meritus ipsius attulit non luctum

Q. Catulus: the destruction of himself brought not grief

reipublicæ tam, quam ceterorum.  
to the republic so (so much), as (did the destruction) of the rest.

Atque tamen omnes illæ dissensiones erant  
And however all those disagreements were

hujusmodi, Quirites, quæ pertinerent non ad  
of this-sort, Romans, which might-pertain not to

republicam delendam, sed ad  
the republic to be-destroyed, but to (the republic)

commutandam: illi voluerunt non nullam rempublicam  
to be-changed: they wished not no republic

esse, sed se esse principes in eâ quæ  
to be, but (they wished) themselves to be chiefs in that which

esset: neque hanc urbem conflagrare, sed  
might-be: nor (did they wish) this city to be-on-fire, but

se florere in hac urbe. Atque tamen omnes  
themselves to flourish in this city. And yet all

illæ dissensiones, nulla quarum quæsit exitium  
those disagreements, no-one of which sought the destruction

reipublicæ, fuerunt ejusmodi, ut dijudicatæ sint  
of the republic, were of that-sort, that they may have-been-settled

non reconciliatione concordiæ, sed internecione  
not by a reconciliation of concord, but by the slaughter

civium. Autem in hoc maximo que crudelissimo  
of citizens. But in this greatest and most-cruel

bello uno post memoriam hominum, bellum quale  
war alone after (since) the memory of men, a war like-as

nulla barbaria umquam gessit cum suâ gente,  
no barbarous-country ever carried-on with its nation,

in quo bello hæc lex fuit constituta a Lentulo,  
 in which war this law was appointed by Lentulus,  
 Catilinâ, Cassio, Cethego, ut omnes, qui possent  
 Catiline, Cassius, Cethegus, that all, who might be-able  
 esse salvi, urbe salvâ, hi ducerentur  
 to be safe, the city (being) safe, these should-be-led (beamed),  
 in numero hostium; gessi me ita,  
 in the number of the enemies; I have-borne (conducted) myself so,  
 Quirites, ut conservaremini omnes salvi; et  
 Romans, that you might-be-preserved all safe; and  
 cum vestri hostes putassent tantum civium  
 when your enemies might-have-thought so-much of citizens  
 superfuturum, quantum restitisset infinitæ  
 about-to-survive, as might-have-remained from infinite  
 cædi, autem tantum urbis, quantum flamma  
 slaughter, (and) but so-much of the city, as the flame  
 potuisset non obire: servavi et urbem  
 might-have-been-able not to-go-over: I have-kept both the city  
 et cives integros que incolumes.  
 and the citizens entire and safe.

11. Pro quibus tantis rebus, Quirites, ego postulo  
 For which so-great things, Romans, I require  
 nullum præmium virtutis a vobis, nullum insigne  
 no reward of virtue from you, no mark  
 honoris, nullum monumentum laudis, præterquam  
 of honour, no monument of praise, except  
 sempiternam memoriam hujus diei. Ego volo omnes  
 the eternal memory of this day. I wish all  
 meos triumphos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta  
 my triumphs, all ornaments of honour, monuments  
 gloriæ, insignia laudis condi et collocari  
 of glory, marks of praise to be-hid (treasured) and to be-placed  
 in vestris animis. Nihil mutum potest delectare  
 in your minds. Nothing dumb is-able to delight  
 me, nihil tacitum, denique, nihil hujusmodi, quod  
 me, nothing silent, finally, nothing of this-sort, which  
 etiam minus digni possint assequi.  
 even less worthy (persons) may be-able to attain

**Nostræ** res, **Quirites**, **alentur** **vestrâ**  
 Our things (affairs), Romans, shall-be-cherished in your  
**memoriâ**, **crescent** **sermonibus**, **inveterascent** **et**  
 memory, shall-increase in discourses, shall grow-old and  
**corroborabuntur** **monumentis** **literarum**; **que**  
 shall be-strengthened in the monuments of letters; and  
**intelligo** **eandem diem**, **quam spero**  
 I understand (feel convinced) this same day, which I hope  
**fore æternam**, **propagatam** **et ad salutem**  
 to be-about-to-be eternal, propagated both to the safety  
**urbis**, **et ad memoriam mei consulatus**; **que**  
 of the city, and to the memory of my consulship; and  
**uno tempore duos cives extitisse in hac**  
 at one time two citizens to have-existed in this  
**republicâ**, **alter quorum terminaret fines**  
 republic, the other (one) of whom should bound the limits  
**vestri imperii non regionibus terræ**, **sed**  
 of your empire not by the regions of the earth, but  
**coeli**; **alter servaret domicilium que sedem**  
 of heaven; the other should-preserve the-abode and seat  
**eiusdem imperii**.  
 of the same empire.

12. **Sed, quoniam fortuna atque conditio earum**  
 But, since the fortune and condition of these  
**rerum quas ego gessi, est non eadem, quæ**  
 things which I have-carried-on is not the same, which  
**illorum qui gesserunt externa bella**; **quod**  
 (that is) of those who have-carried-on foreign wars; because  
**sit vivendum mihi cum his quos**  
 it may-be to be-lived to me (I must live) with those whom  
**vici ac subegi**; **isti reliquerunt**  
 have-conquered and have subdued; those have-left (their)  
**hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos: est vestrum**,  
 enemies either slain or oppressed: it-is your  
**Quirites, providere, si sua facta prosunt**  
 (duty), Romans, to provide, if their deeds profit  
**ceteris, ne mea quando obsint mihi. Enim**  
 to others, lest mine at-any-time may-injure to me. For

ego providi ne sceleratæ ac nefariæ  
I have-provided lest the wicked and nefarious

mentes audacissimorum hominum possent  
minds (intentions) of the most-daring men might be-able

nocere vobis; est vestrum providere ne noceant  
to hurt to you; it-is your (duty) to provide lest they may-hurt

mihi. Quamquam, Quirites, potest noceri  
to me. Although, Romans, it is-able to be-hurt

mihi ipsi nihil quidem jam ab istis.  
to myself nothing (not at all) indeed now by those.

Enim est magnum  
(These persons can do me no injury.) For there-is a great

præsidium in bonis, quod est comparatum  
guard (protection) in good (men), which is provided

mihi in perpetuum: magna dignitas in  
to me unto perpetual (time): great dignity in

republicâ, quæ tacita semper defendet me:  
the republic, which silent always will defend me:

magna est vis conscientiæ, quam qui  
great is the force of consciousness, which (those) who

negligent, cum volent violare me, ipsi  
shall-neglect, when they shall-wish to do-violence-to me, themselves

indicabunt se. Etiam is  
will-discover themselves (will expose themselves). Also that

animus est in nobis, Quirites, ut non modo  
mind is in us (me), Romans, that not only

cedamus audaciæ nullius, sed etiam  
we may-yield to the audacity of no (person), but also

laccessamus semper ultro omnes improbos.  
we may-assail always willingly all the dishonest.

Quod si omnis impetus domesticorum hostium  
But-if every attack of domestic enemies

depulsus a vobis, convertit se in me unum:  
driven-off from you, turns itself upon me one

erit providendum vobis, Quirites,  
(alors): it will-be to be-provided to you (by you), Romans,

quâ conditione posthac velitis eos esse qu:  
in what condition hereafter you may wish those to be who

obtulerint se invidiæ que omnibus periculis  
may-have-offered themselves to envy and to all dangers

pro vestrâ salute. Quid quidem est quod possit  
for your safety. What indeed is-there which may-be-able

jam acquiri mihi ipsi ad fructum  
now to be-acquired for myself to (for) the fruit (enjoyment)

vitæ, præsertim cum videam neque quidquam  
of life, especially when I may-see neither any (thing)

altius in vestro honore, neque in gloriâ virtutis,  
higher in your honour, nor in the glory of virtue,

quo quidem libeat mihi adscendere?  
whither indeed it may-be-pleasing to me to ascend?

Perficiam illud profecto, Quirites, ut  
I will-complete this indeed, Romans, that (being)

privatus tuear atque ornem ea  
a private (person) I may-defend and I may-adorn those

quæ gessi in consulatu: ut, si qua  
(things) which I carried-on in (my) consulship: that, if any

invidia suscepta est in republicâ conservandâ,  
envy has-been-taken-up in the republic to be-preserved

lædat invidos, valeat  
(in preserving the republic), it may-hurt the envious, it may-avail

mihi ad gloriam. Denique, tractabo  
to me to glory. Finally, I will-handle (conduct)

me ita in republicâ, ut meminerim  
myself so in the republic, that I may-have-remembered

semper quæ gesserim, que  
(may remember) always what (things) I may-have-carried-on, and

curem ut ea videantur gesta esse  
I may take-care that these (things) may-seem to have-been-carried-on

virtute non casu. Vos, Quirites, quoniam est  
by virtue not by accident. You, Romans, since it-is

jam nox, veneramini illum Jovem, custodem hujus  
now night, worship that Jupiter, the keeper of this

urbis ac vestrûm, atque discedite in vestra tecta:  
city and of you, and depart into your roofs

et, quamquam periculum est jam depulsum,  
(houses): and, although danger is now driven-away,



tamen	defendite	ea,	æque	ac	priori
ye.	defend	them,	equally	and (as)	on the former
nocte,	custodiis	que	vigiliis.		Providebo,
night,	with guards	and	with watches.		I will-provide,
Quirites,	ne id sit				faciendum
Romans,	lest that may-be	(that that may not be)			to be-done
diutius vobis,	atque ut	possitis	esse in		
longer to you (by you),	and	that you may-be-able	to be in		
perpetuâ pace.					
perpetual	peace.				

QUARTA ORATIO  
**THE FOURTH ORATION**  
 HABITA IN SENATU.  
**HELD IN THE SENATE.**

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**1. CONSCRIPTI** patres, **video** ora **atque**  
 Conscript fathers, I see the countenances and  
**oculos** **vestrûm** **omnium** **esse** **conversos** in me:  
 the eyes of you all to be turned unto me:  
**video** **vos** **esse** **sollicitos** **non** **solum** **de** **vestro**  
 I see you to be solicitous not only concerning your  
**periculo** **ac** **reipublicæ**, **verum** **etiam**, **si** **id**  
 danger and (that) of the republic, but also, if that  
**depulsum** **sit**, **de** **meo** **periculo**. **Vestra**  
 may-have-been-driven-off, concerning my danger. Your  
**voluntas** **erga** **me** **est** **jucunda** **mihi** **in** **malis**,  
 good-will towards me is pleasant to me in evils (dangers),  
**et** **grata** **in** **dolore**: **sed**, **quæso** **per** **immortales**  
 and grateful in grief: but, I pray by the immortal  
**deos**, **deponite** **eam**, **atque** **obliti** **meæ**  
 gods, put-down (lay aside) it, and having-forgotten of my  
**salutis**, **cogitate** **de** **vobis** **ac** **de** **vestris**  
 safety, think concerning yourselves and concerning your  
**liberis**. **Si** **hæc** **conditio** **quidem** **consulatus**  
 children. If this condition indeed of the consulship  
**data** **est** **mihi**, **ut** **perferrem** **omnes** **acerbitates**,  
 has-been-given to me, that I should-bear all bitternesses,  
**omnes** **dolores** **que** **cruciatus**, **feram** **non**  
 all griefs and torments, I will-bear (them) not  
**solum** **fortiter**, **sed** **etiam** **libenter**, **dummodo** **dignitas**  
 only boldly, but even willingly, provided-that dignity

que salus pariat<sup>ur</sup> meis laboribus vobis que  
 and safety may-be-produced by my labours to you and  
 Romano populo. Ego sum ille consul, conscripti  
 to the Roman people. I am that consul, conscript  
 patres, cui non forum, in quo omnis æquitas  
 fathers, to whom not the forum, in which all equity  
 continetur; non campus, consecratus  
 is-contained; not the plain (Campus Martius), consecrated  
 consularibus auspiciis; non curia, summum  
 to consular auspices; not the council-house, the highest  
 auxilium omnium gentium; non domus, commune  
 aid of all nations; not (my) house, the common  
 perfugium; non lectus, datus ad quietem;  
 refuge; not (my) bed, given to (for) rest;  
 denique, non hæc sedes honoris fuit umquam vacua  
 finally, not this seat of honour has-been ever free  
 periculo mortis atque insidiis. Ego tacui  
 from danger of death and from snares. I have-kept-silent  
 multa, pertuli multa, concessi multa,  
 many (things), I have-borne many (things), I have-yielded many  
 sanavi multa quodam meo dolore,  
 (things), I have-cured many (things) with some my-own grief  
 in vestro timore. Nunc, si  
 (with some pain to myself), in (amid) your fear. Now, if  
 immortales dii voluerunt hunc esse exitum mei  
 the immortal gods have-wished this to be the issue of my  
 consulatus, ut eriperem vos, conscripti  
 consulship, that I might-snatch-out (rescue) you, conscript  
 patres, que Romanum populum ex miserâ cæde,  
 fathers, and the Roman people out-of wretched slaughter,  
 conjuges, que vestros liberos, que vestales  
 (your) wives, and your children, and the vestal  
 virgines ex acerbissimâ vexatione; templa atque  
 virgins out-of the most-bitter vexation; the temples and  
 delubra, hanc pulcherrimam patriam nostrum omnium  
 shrines, this most-beautiful country of us all  
 ex foedissimâ flammâ; totam Italiam ex bello  
 out-of the foulest flame; the whole Italy out-of wa

at vastitate: quæcunque fortuna proponetur mihi  
 and devastation: whatever fortune shall be-proposed to me  
 uni, subeatur. Etenim si P. Lentulus, inductus  
 alone, may be-undergone. For if P. Lentulus, induced  
 a vatibus, putavit suum nomen fore fatale  
 by prophets, thought his name to be-about-to-be ordained-by-fate  
 ad perniciem reipublicæ, cur ego læter non  
 to the destruction of the republic, why may-I-rejoice not  
 meum consulatum extitisse prope fatalem ad  
 my consulship to have-existed almost ordained-by-fate to  
 salutem reipublicæ?  
 the safety of the republic?

2. Quare, conscripti patres, consulite vobis  
 Wherefore, conscript fathers, consult for yourselves  
 prospicite patriæ, conservate vos, conjuges,  
 look to your country, preserve yourselves, wives,  
 liberos, que vestras fortunas, defendite nomen que  
 children, and your fortunes, defend the name and  
 salutem Romani populi: desinite parcere mihi, ac  
 safety of the Roman people: cease to spare to me, and  
 cogitare de me. Nam primum debeo sperare  
 to think concerning me. For first I ought to hope  
 omnes deos, qui præsident huic urbi, esse  
 all the gods, who preside-over to this city, to be  
 relatores gratiam mihi præ eo ac mereor:  
 about-to-return the favour to me according-to that as I deserve.  
 deinde si quid obtigerit, moriar  
 then (in the next place) if any (thing) shall-have-befallen, I shall-die  
 æquo que parato animo. Enim neque turpis mors  
 with an equal and prepared mind. For neither a base death  
 potest accidere forti viro, neque immatura  
 is-able to happen to a brave man, nor an immature (death)  
 consulari, nec misera sapienti. Nec  
 to a consular (man), nor a wretched (death) to a wise (man). Nor  
 tamen sum ego ille ferreus, qui movear non  
 yet am I that iron (person), who may-be-moved not  
 mœrore carissimi atque amantissimi fratris  
 by the sorrow of (my) dearest and most-loving brother.

præsens, que lacrymis omnium horum, a quibus  
 being-present, and by the tears of all these, by whom  
 videtis me circumsessum. Neque exanimata uxor  
 you see me surrounded. Neither (my) fainting wife  
 revocat non sæpe meam mentem domum, filia  
 calls-back not often my mind home, (and) daughter  
 abjecta metu, et parvulus filius, quem respublica  
 cast-down with fear, and (my) very-little son, whom the republi  
 videtur mihi amplecti tamquam obsidem mei  
 seems to me to embrace as-if a hostage (pledge) of my  
 consulatus: neque ille gener, qui exspectans  
 consulship: nor that son-in-law, who awaiting  
 exitum hujus diei, adstat in meo conspectu.  
 the issue of this day, stands-near in my sight.  
 Moveor omnibus his rebus, sed in eam partem,  
 I am-moved by all these things, but unto that part,  
 ut sint omnes salvi vobiscum, etiamsi aliqua  
 that they may-be all safe with you, even-if some  
 vis oppresserit me, potius quam et illi  
 violence may-have-oppressed me, rather than both they  
 et nos pereamus una cum republicâ. Quare,  
 and we may-perish together with the republic. Wherefore,  
 conscripti patres, incumbite ad salutem reipublicæ:  
 conscript fathers, apply to the safety of the republic:  
 circumspicite omnes procellas, quæ impendent,  
 look-around-upon all the storms, which hang-over (threaten),  
 nisi providetis. Non Tib. Gracchus, qui voluit  
 unless you provide. Not Tib. Gracchus, who wished  
 fieri iterum tribunus plebis: non C. Gracchus,  
 to be-made again tribune of the people: not C. Gracchus,  
 qui conatus est concitare agrarios: non L. Saturninus,  
 who endeavoured to excite the agrarians: not L. Saturninus,  
 qui occidit C. Memmium, adducitur in aliquod  
 who slew C. Memmius, is-brought into some  
 discrimen, atque in judicium vestræ  
 distinction (controversy), and into the judgment of your  
 severitatis. Ii tenentur, qui restiterunt Romæ,  
 severity Those are-held, who have-remained at Rome



ad incendium urbis, ad vestram cædem  
to (for) the conflagration of the city, to your slaughter

omnium, ad Catilinam accipiendum :  
of all (for the slaughter of you all), to (for) Catiline to be-received :

litteræ, signa, manus, denique confessio  
the letters, seals, hand, finally the confession

uniuscujusque tenentur; Allobroges sollicitantur;  
of each are-held; the Allobroges are-solicited;

servitia excitantur; Catilina arcessitur; id consilium  
the slaves are-excited; Catiline is-sent-for; that counsel

initum est, ut, omnibus interfectis, nemo  
has-been-entered-into, that, all being-slain, no-one

relinquatur ne quidem ad nomen reipublicæ  
may-be-left not-even to (for) the name of the republic

deplorandum, atque ad calamitatem tantī  
to be-deplored, and to (for) the calamity of so-great

imperii lamentandam.  
an empire to be-lamented.

### 8. Indices detulerunt omnia hæc,

The informers have-brought (reported) all these (things),

rei confessi sunt; vos jam judicastis  
the accused have-confessed (them); you already have-judged

multis judiciis: primum, quod egistis  
(them) by many judgments: first, because you acted

gratias mihi singularibus verbis :  
(have given) thanks to me in singular words (in extraordinary

et decrevistis conjurationem perditorum  
terms): and you decreed (decided) a conspirac-  
tion of traitors

hominum patefactam esse meâ virtute atque  
(abandoned) men to have-been-exposed by my virtue and

diligentiâ: deinde quod coëgistis P. Lentulum, ut  
diligence: then because you-forced P. Lentulus that

abdicaret se præturâ: tum quod  
he should-abdicate himself from the prætorship: then because

censuistis eum, et ceteros, de quibus judicastis,  
you voted him, and the others, concerning whom you judged,

dandos in custodiam: que maxime quod  
to be-given into custody: and mostly (especially) because

decrevistis supplicationem meo nomine, qui honores  
 you decreed a thanksgiving in my name, which honour  
 habitus est nemini togato ante me : postremo  
 has-been-held to no-one wearing-the-toga before me : lastly,  
 hesterno die dedistis amplissima præmia legatis  
 on yesterday you gave most ample rewards to the ambassadors  
 Allobrogum, que Tito Vulturecio. Omnia quæ  
 of the Allobroges, and to Titus Vulturecius. All which  
 sunt ejusmodi, ut ii, qui dati sunt  
 (things) are of this-sort, that those, who have-been-given  
 nominatim in custodiam, videantur sine ullâ  
 by-name into custody, may-seem without any  
 dubitatione damnati esse a vobis. Sed ego  
 doubt to have-been-condemned by you. But I  
 institui referre ad vos, conscripti patres,  
 have-determined to refer to you, conscript fathers,  
 tamquam integrum, et quid judicetis  
 as-if an entire (a new matter), both what you may-judge  
 de facto, et quid censeatis de  
 concerning the deed, and what you may-vote concerning  
 poenâ ; prædicam illa, quæ sunt  
 the punishment ; I will-previously-say those (things), which are  
 consulis. Ego videbam jampridem magnum  
 (the business) of a consul. I did see long-since great  
 furorem versari in republicâ, et  
 madness to be-engaged (to be prevalent) in the republic, and  
 quædam nova mala misceri et concitari : sed  
 some new evils to be-mingled and to be-excited : but  
 nunquam putavi hanc tantam, tam exitiosam  
 never I thought this so-great, so destructive  
 conjurationem haberi a civibus. Nunc, quidquid  
 conspiracy to be-held by citizens. Now, whatever  
 est, quocunque vestrae mentes atque sententiæ  
 it-is, whither-soever your minds and opinions  
 inclinant, est statuendum vobis ante noctem.  
 incline, it-is to be-determined to you (by you) before night.  
 Videtis quantum facinus delatum sit  
 you see how-great a daring-deed may have-been-brought (reported)

ad vos: si putatis paucos esse affines huic,  
 to you: if you think few to be bordering (accessary) to this,  
 erratis vehementer. Hoc malum disseminatum est  
 you err violently. This evil has-been disseminated

latius opinione: manavit nor  
 more-widely than opinion (than is supposed): it has-flowed not

solum per Italiam, verum etiam transcendit Alpes,  
 only through Italy, but even has-passed-over the Alps,

et serpens obscure, jam occupavit multas  
 and creeping obscurely, already has-occupied many

provincias. Id nullo pacto potest opprimi  
 provinces. That by no agreement (means) is-able to be-oppressed

sustentando ac prolatando. Quâcunque ratione  
 by supporting and by deferring. In whatever reason

placet, est vindicandum vobis celeritir.  
 (manner) it pleases, it-is to be-punished to you (by you) quickly.

#### 4. Video duas sententias esse adhuc;

I see two opinions to be hitherto (that there are

unam D. Silani, qui censet, eos  
 hitherto two opinions); one of D. Silanus, who votes, those

qui conati sunt delere hæc esse multandos  
 who have-endeavoured to destroy these (things) to be to be-fined

morte: alteram C. Cæsaris, qui removet  
 (punished) with death: the other of C. Cæsar, who removes

pœnam mortis, amplectitur omnes acerbitates  
 the penalty of death, embraces all the bitterness

ceterorum suppliciorum. Uterque versatur in summâ  
 of other punishments. Each is-engaged in the highest

severitate et pro suâ dignitate, et pro  
 severity both for (according to) his-own dignity, and for

magnitudine rerum. Alter putat oportere  
 the greatness of things. The other (the one) thinks (it) to behave

non eos qui conati sunt privare nos omnes,  
 not those who have-endeavoured to deprive us all,

qui Romanum populum vitâ  
 who (have endeavoured to deprive) the Roman people with life

qui delere imperium, qui  
 (of life), who (have attempted) to destroy the empire, who

extinguere nomen Romani populi, frui vitâ,  
to extinguish the name of the Roman people, to enjoy with life,

et hoc communi spiritu  
and with this common breath (the air breathed by us all)

punctum temporis: atque recordatur hoc genus  
a point of time (a moment): and calls-to-mind this kind

pœnæ usurpatum esse sæpe in hac republicâ  
of punishment to have-been-used often in this republic

in improbos cives. Alter intelligit mortem non  
against dishonest citizens. The other understands death not

constitutam esse a immortalibus deus causâ  
to have-been-appointed by the immortal gods for-the-sake

supplicii, sed esse aut necessitatem naturæ, aut  
of punishment, but to be either a necessity of nature, or

quietem laborum ac miseriarum. itaque sapientes  
a rest of labours and of miseries. Therefore wise (men),

numquam inviti, fortes etiam sæpe libenter  
never unwillingly, the bold even often willingly

oppetiverunt eam. Vero vincula, et ea sempiterna,  
have-undergone it. But bonds, and those eternal

certe inventa sunt ad singularem  
(for life), certainly have-been-invented to (for) the singular

pœnam nefarii sceleris. Jubet dispertiri  
punishment of nefarious crime. He orders (them) to be-distributed

municipiis. Ista res videtur habere  
to the municipal-towns. That thing seems to have

iniquitatem, si velis imperare; difficultatem,  
injustice, if thou-mayest-wish to command (it); difficulty,

si rogare: tamen decernatur, si placet.  
if to ask (it): yet let-it-be-decreed, if it pleases (you).

Enim ego suscipiam, et, ut spero,  
For I will-take-up (will take upon myself), and, as I hope,

reperiam, qui putent esse non suæ  
will-find (those), who may think (it) to be not (the part) of their

dignitatis recusare id, quod statueritis  
dignity to refuse that, which you shall-have-appointed

causâ salutis omnium. Adjungit gravem  
for-the-sake of the safety of all. He adjoins a heavy

pœnam municipibus, si quis  
punishment to the inhabitants of the municipal towns, if any-one

eorum ruperit vincula :  
of them (the conspirators) shall-have-broken the bonds (escaped) :

circumdat horribiles custodias, et sancit  
he places around dreadful guards, and sanctions (things)

digna scelere perditorum hominum, ne quis  
worthy with the crime of lost (abandoned) men, lest any-one

possit levare pœnam eorum, quos condemnat,  
may-be-able to lighten the punishment of those, whom he condemns,

aut per senatum, aut per populum. Etiam  
either through the senate, or through the people. Also (even)

eripit spem, quæ sola solet consolari  
he snatches-away hope, which alone is-accustomed to console

hominem in miseriis. Præterea, jubet bona  
a man in miseries. Besides, he orders (their) goods

publicari : relinquit vitam solam nefariis  
to be-confiscated : he leaves life alone to the nefarious

hominibus : quam si eripuisset,  
men : which if he might-have-snatched-away,

ademisset multas pœnas animi atque  
he would-have-taken-away many punishments of mind and

corporis, et omnes scelerum, uno dolore.  
of body, and all (the punishments) of crimes, by one pain.

Itaque, ut aliqua formido esset posita improbis  
Therefore, that some dread might-be placed to the dishonest

in vitâ, illi antiqui voluerunt quædam supplicia  
in life, those ancients wished some punishments

ejusmodi esse constituta impiis apud  
of that-sort to be appointed to the impious with (among)

inferos : videlicet, quod intelligebant,  
the shades-below : that-is-to-say, because they did-understand,

his remotis, mortem ipsam non esse pertimescendam.  
these being-removed, death itself not to be to be-feared.

5. Nunc, conscripti patres, ego video quid intersit

Now, conscript fathers, I see what it may-interest

meâ.

Si secuti eritis

with mine (how much it may be to my interest). If you shall have-followed



sententiam C. Cæsaris, quoniam is secutus est hanc  
 the opinion of C. Cæsar, since he has-followed this  
 viam in republicâ, quæ habetur popularis,  
 way in the republic, which is-held (is accounted) the popular  
 fortasse populares impetus erunt minus  
 (way), perhaps popular attacks will-be less  
 pertimescendi mihi, hoc auctore et  
 to-be-feared to me (by me), this (person being) the author and  
 cognitore hujusce sententiæ. Sin illam  
 acknowledger of this opinion. But-if (you follow) that  
 alteram, nescio an amplius negotii  
 other, I know-not whether more of business (trouble)  
 contrahatur mihi. Sed tamen utilitas reipublicæ  
 may-be-contracted for me. But yet the advantage of the republic  
 vincat rationes meorum periculorum.  
 et (it) conquer the reasons (calculations) of my dangers  
 Enim habemus a C. Cæsare, sicut dignitas ipsius  
 For we have from C. Cæsar, as the dignity of himself  
 et amplitudo majorum ejus postulabat,  
 and the greatness (nobility) of the ancestors of him did-require,  
 sententiam, tanquam obsidem perpetuæ  
 an opinion, as-if an hostage (pledge) of (his) perpetual  
 voluntatis in rempublicam. Intellectum est, quid  
 good-will unto the republic. It has-been-understood, what  
 intersit inter levitatem concionatorum et  
 may-be-the-difference between the levity of public-speakers and  
 animum vere popularem, consulentem saluti  
 a mind truly popular, consulting for the safety  
 populi. Video non neminem de istis qui  
 of the people. I see not no-one (some one) from those who  
 volunt se haberi populares, abesse,  
 wish themselves to-be-held (to be accounted) popular, to-be-absent,  
 videlicet, ne ferat sententiam de capite  
 that-is-to-say, lest he may-bear an opinion concerning the head (life)  
 Romanorum civium. Is, nudiustertius, et  
 of Roman citizens. He, the-day-before-yesterday, both  
 dedit Romanos cives in custodiam, et decrevit  
 gave Roman citizens into custody, and decreed

**mihi supplicationem, et hesterno die affecit indices**  
 to me a thanksgiving, and on-yesterday affected the informers

**maximis præmiis. Jam hoc est dubium nemini,**  
 with the greatest rewards. Now this is doubtful to no-one,

**quid judicarit de totâ re et causâ,**  
 what he may-have-judged concerning the whole thing and cause,

**qui decrevit custodiam reo, gratulationem**  
 who has-decreed custody to the accused, congratulation

**quæsitore, præmium indici. At, vero, C. Cæsar**  
 to the inquirer, reward to the informer. But, truly, C. Cæsar

**intelligit Semproniam legem constitutam esse**  
 understands the Sempronian law to have-been-appointed

**de Romanis civibus; autem qui sit hostis**  
 concerning Roman citizens; but who may-be an enemy

**reipublicæ, eum posse nullo modo esse civem:**  
 of the republic, him to be-able in no manner to be a citizen:

**denique, latorem ipsum Sempronie legis,**  
 finally, the bearer (maker) himself of the Sempronian law,

**dependisse poenas reipublicæ jussu populi.**  
 to have-paid penalties to the republic by-the-order of the people.

**Idem putat largitorem et prodigum Lentulum**  
 The same (person) thinks the briber and prodigal Lentulus

**non posse appellari popularem, cum**  
 not to be-able to be-called belonging-to-the-people, since

**cogitarit tam acerbe que tam crudeliter**  
 he may-have-devised so bitterly and so cruelly

**de perniciæ Romani populi, exitio**  
 concerning the destruction of the Roman people, the ruin

**hujus urbis. Itaque, mitissimus atque lenissimus**  
 of this city. Therefore, the most-mild and most-gentle

**homo dubitat non mandare P. Lentulum**  
 man (Cæsar) doubts (hesitates) not to commit P. Lentulus

**æternis tenebris que vinculis; et sancit in posterum,**  
 to eternal darkness and to bonds; and sanctions unto after (time),

**ut quis possit jactare se**  
 lest any (person) may-be-able to toss himself (to be officious)

**supplicio hujus levando,**  
 in the punishment of him to be lightened (in lightening his punishment).

et posthac esse popularis in pernicië Romam  
 and hereafter to be popular in the destruction of the Roman  
 populi. Etiam adjungit publicationem bonorum, ut  
 people. Also he adjoins confiscation of goods, that  
 etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequator omnes  
 even want and beggary may-follow all  
 cruciatus animi et corporis.  
 torments of mind and of body.

6. Quamobrem, sive statueritis hoc,  
 Wherefore, whether you shall-have-appointed this,  
 dederitis mihi comitem ad concionem  
 you will-have-given to me a companion (Cæsar) to the public-assembly  
 carum atque jucundum populo; sive  
 dear and acceptable to-the-people; or-if  
 malueritis sequi sententiam Silani,  
 you shall-have-wished-rather to follow the opinion of Silanus,  
 defendetis facile me atque vos a vituperatione  
 you will-defend easily me and yourselves from the blame  
 crudelitatis, atque obtinebo eam fuisse  
 of cruelty, and I shall-obtain (maintain) it to have-been  
 multo leviozem. Quamquam, conscripti patres, quæ  
 by much lighter. Although, conscript fathers, what  
 crudelitas potest esse in immanitate tanti  
 cruelty is-able to be in the outrageousness of so-great  
 sceleris puniendâ? Enim ego judico de meo  
 a crime to be-punished? For I judge from my-own  
 sensu. Nam ita liceat mihi perfrui vobiscum  
 feeling. Nor thus it may-be-allowed to me to enjoy with you  
 salvâ republicâ, ut ego, quod sum vehementior in  
 a safe republic, that I, because I am more-vehement in  
 hâc causâ, moveor non atrocitate animi, (enim quis  
 this cause, am-moved not by cruelty of mind, (for who  
 est mitior me?) sed quâdam singulari humanitate  
 is milder than I?) but by some singular humanity  
 et misericordiâ. Enim videor mihi videre hanc  
 and mercy. For I seem to myself to see this  
 urbem, lucem orbis terrarum, atque arcem  
 city, the light of the globe of the earths, and the citadel

omnium gentium, subito concidentem uno incendio;  
of all nations, suddenly falling by one conflagration:

cerno animo miseros atque insepultos acervos  
I discern in (my) mind wretched and unburied heaps

civium in sepultâ patriâ; aspectus et furor  
of citizens in (my) buried country; the appearance and fury

Cethegi bacchantis in vestrâ cæde versatur  
of Cethegus revelling in your slaughter is-engaged (revolved)

ante oculos mihi. Vero cum proposui  
before the eyes to me. But when I have-proposed (represented)

mihi Lentulum regnantem, sicut ipse confessus est  
to myself Lentulus ruling, as himself confessed

se sperasse ex fatis, hunc Gabinium  
himself to have-hoped out-of (according-to) the fates, this Gabinius

esse purpuratum, Catilinam venisse cum exercitu,  
to be clothed-in-purple, Catiline to have-come with (his) army,

tum perhorresco lamentationem matrumfamilias; tum  
then I dread the lamentation of mothers-of-families; then

fugam virginum atque puerorum, ac vexationem  
the flight of virgins and of boys, and the harassing

vestalium virginum; et quia hæc videntur  
of vestal virgins; and because these (things) seem

mihi vehementer misera atque miseranda, idcirco  
to me violently wretched and to be-pitied, on-that-account

præbeo me severum que vehementem in  
I afford (I show) myself severe and violent against

eos qui voluerunt perficere ea. Etenim quæro  
those who have-wished to perform them. For I seek (ask)

si quis paterfamilias, suis liberis interfectis a servo,  
if any father-of-a-family, his children being-slain by a slave,

uxore occisâ, domo incensâ, sumserit  
(his) wife being-killed, (his) house being-set-on-fire, shall-have-taken

non quam acerbissimum supplicium de servis;  
not as-bitter-as-possible punishment of (his) slaves;

utrum is videatur esse clemens ac misericors, an  
whether he may-seem to be clement and merciful, or

inhumanissimus et crudelissimus? Vero mihi  
most-inhuman and most-cruel? But (he would seem) to me

**importunus** **ac** **ferreus** **qui** **lenierit** **non**  
 importunate (cruel) and made-of-iron who shall-have-soothed not

**suum dolorem** **que** **cruciatum** **dolore** **ac** **cruciatu**  
 his-own grief and torment by the grief and torment

**nocentis.** **Sic** **nos** **in** **his** **hominibus,** **qui**  
 of (the person) injuring. Thus we in these men, who

**voluerunt** **trucidare** **nos,** **qui**  
 have-wished to slaughter us, who (have wished to slaughter

**conjuges,** **qui** **nostros** **liberos;** **qui** **conati** **sunt**  
 (our) wives, who our children; who have-endeavoured

**delere** **singulas** **domos** **uniuscujusque** **nostrum,** **et**  
 to destroy the several houses of each-one of us, and

**hoc** **universum** **domicilium** **reipublicæ;** **qui** **egerunt**  
 this whole abode of the republic; who have-acted

**id,** **ut** **collocarent** **gentem** **Allobrogum**  
 (attempted) this, that they might-place the nation of the Allobroges

**in** **vestigis** **hujus** **urbis,** **atque** **in** **cinere** (*sing.*)  
 in the traces of this city, and in the ashes

**deflagrati** **imperii:** **si** **fuerimus** **vehementissimi**  
 of the consumed empire: if we-shall-have-been very-vehement

**habebimur** **misericordes;** **sin** **voluerimus**  
 we shall-be-held (accounted) merciful; but-if we-shall-have-wished

**esse** **remissiores,** **fama** **summæ** **crudelitatis,** **in**  
 to be more-remiss, the report of the highest cruelty, in

**pernicie** **patriæ** **que** **civium,** **est** **subeunda**  
 the destruction of country and of citizens, is to be-undergone

**nobis.** **Nisi,** **vero,** **L. Cæsar,** **fortissimus** **vir,** **et**  
 to us (by us). Unless, truly, L. Cæsar, a most-bold man, and

**amantissimus** **reipublicæ,** **visus** **est** **cuiquam** **crudelior,**  
 most-loving of the republic, seemed to any-one more-cruel,

**cum** **dixit** **virum** **susæ** **sororis,** **electissimæ**  
 when he said the man (husband) of his-own sister, a most-select

**feminæ,** **præsentem** **et** **audientem,** **esse** **privandum**  
 woman, being-present and hearing, to be to be-deprived

**vitâ;** **cum** **dixit** **avum** **interfectum** **esse,**  
 from life (cf life); when he said (his) grand-father to have-been-slain,

**jussu** **consulis,** **que** **filium** **ejus** **impuberem,**  
 by order of-the-consul, and the son of him not-being-of-age



**missum** **legatum** a **patre**, **necatum esse** in  
being-sent ambassador by the father, to have-been-killed in

**carcere.** **Quorum quod simile factum (est)?** **Quod**  
prison. Of whom what like (thing) was-done? What

**consilium** **reipublicæ delendæ initum (est)?**  
design of the republic to be-destroyed was-entered-into?

**Voluntas largitionis versata est**  
A wish of giving-liberally (to-the-people) was-engaged (existed)

**tum in republicâ, et quædam contentio partium.**  
then in the republic, and some contention of parts

**Atque illo tempore avus hujus**  
(of parties). And at that time the grandfather of this

**Lentuli, clarissimus vir, armatus persecutus est**  
Lentulus, a most-famous man, being-armed pursued

**Gracchum: ille etiam tum accepit grave vulnus, ne**  
Gracchus: he also then received a heavy wound, lest

**quid minueretur de summâ republicâ:**  
any (thing) might-be-diminished from the highest republic:

**hic arcessit Gallos ad fundamenta**  
this (Lentulus) sends-for the Gauls to (for) the foundations

**reipublicæ evertenda, concitat servitia, vocat**  
of the republic to be-overtaken, excites the slaves, calls

**Catilinam, attribuit nos Cethego trucidandos,**  
Catiline, assigns us to Cethegus to be-slaughtered,

**ceteros cives Gabinio interficiendos, urbem Cassio**  
the other citizens to Gabinus to be-slain, the city to Cassius

**inflammandam, totam Italiam Catilinæ vastandam**  
to be-set-on-fire, the whole Italy to Catiline to be-laid-waste

**que diripiendam. Vereamini, censeo, ne in hoc**  
and to be-plundered. You should-fear, I judge, lest in this

**tam immani ac nefando scelere, videamini**  
so outrageous and impious crime, you may-seem

**statuisse aliquid nimis severe; cum sit**  
to have-determined something too severely; when it-may-be

**verendum multo magis, ne remissione poenæ**  
to be-feared by much more, less by permission of punishment

**videamur fuisse crudeles in patriam, quam**  
we may-seem to have-been cruel unto the country than

**Re** severitate **animadversionis** nimis **vehementes**  
 lest by the severity of punishment too violent  
**in** acerbissimos **hostes**.  
 against the most-bitter enemies.

7. **Sed, conscripti patres, possum non dissimulare**  
 But, conscript fathers, I am-able not to dissemble

**ea** quæ exaudio. **Enim voces** **jaciuntur**,  
 those (things) which I hear. For voices (speeches) are-cast

quæ perveniunt ad meas aures, eorum qui  
 (uttered), which arrive to my ears, of those who

**videntur vereri, ut habeam satis præsidii ad**  
 seem to fear, that I may-have enough of guard to (for)

**ea** transigunda quæ vos  
 these (things) to be-performed (for performing those things) which you

**statueritis** **hodierno-die.** **Omnia** **et**  
 shall have-determined on-this-day. All (things) both

**provisa sunt, et parata, et constituta, conscripti**  
 have-been-foreseen, and prepared, and appointed, conscript

**patres, cum** **meâ summâ curâ atque diligentia,**  
 fathers, when (as well) by my highest care and diligence,

**tum etiam multo majore voluntate Romani**  
 then (as) also by a much greater wish of the Roman

**populi ad summum imperium retinendum, et**  
 people to (for) the highest empire (rule) to be-retained, and

**ad communes fortunas conservandas. Omnes**  
 to (for) the common fortunes to be-preserved. All

**homines omnium ordinum, denique omnium ætatum**  
 men of all orders, finally of all ages

**adsunt: forum est plenum, templa circa forum**  
 are-present: the forum is full, the temples about the forum

**plena, omnes aditus hujus loci ac templi pleni.**  
 full, all the approaches of this place and temple full.

**Enim hæc causa sola inventa est post urbem**  
 For this cause alone has-been-found after (since) the city

**conditam, in quâ omnes sentirent unum atque**  
 being-founded, in which all might-think one and

**idem,** **præter eos, qui cum viderent esse**  
 the same (thing), except those, who when they might-see (it) to be

pereundum sibi, voluerunt  
 to be-perished to (by) themselves (that they must perish), wished  
 potius perire cum omnibus, quam soli. Ego excipio  
 rather to perish with all, than alone. I except  
 et libenter secerno hosce homines: enim neque  
 and willingly separate these men: for neither  
 puto habendos in numero improborum  
 I-I-think (them) to be-held (accounted) in the number of dishonest  
 civium, sed in acerbissimorum hostium. Vere  
 citizens, but the (number) of most-bitter enemies. But  
 ceteri, immortales dii! quâ frequentiâ, quo  
 the rest, immortal gods! with what attendance (number), with what  
 studio, quâ virtute consentiunt ad communem  
 ardour, with what virtue (boldness) they-agree to the common  
 dignitatem que salutem? Quid ego commemorem hic  
 dignity and safety? Why may-I-mention here  
 Romanos equites? Qui ita concedunt vobis summam  
 the Roman knights? Who so concede to you the sum  
 ordinis que consilii, ut certent  
 (the chief place) of rank and of counsel, that they may-contend  
 vobiscum de amore reipublicæ: quos revocatos  
 with-you concerning love of the republic: whom being-recalled  
 ex dissensione multorum annorum ad societatem  
 out-of a disagreement of many years to the society  
 que concordiam hujus ordinis, hodiernus dies  
 and concord of this order (the senators), this-day  
 atque hæc causa conjungit vobiscum: quam  
 and this cause unites with you: which  
 conjunctionem confirmatam in meo consulatu, si  
 union confirmed in my consulship, if  
 tenuerimus perpetuam in republicâ, confirmo  
 we shall-have-held (it) perpetual in the republic, I confirm  
 vobis, nullum civile ac domesticum malum esse  
 to you, no civil and domestic evil to be  
 venturum posthac ad ullam partem reipublicæ.  
 about-to-come hereafter to any part of the republic  
 Video tribunos ærarios,  
 I see the tribunes belonging-to-the-treasury (the receivers general),

fortissimos viros convenisse pari studio  
 most-bold men to have-come-together with like ardour

reipublicæ defendendæ; item universos scribas:  
 of the republic to be-defended; also all the clerks:

quos cum hæc dies casu frequentasset ad  
 whom since this day by accident might-have-collected to

serarium, video esse conversos ab expectatione  
 the treasury, I see to be turned from the expectation

sortis ad communem salutem. Omnis multitudo  
 of (their) lot to the common safety. All the multitude

ingenuorum, etiam tenuissimorum,  
 of freeborn (citizens), even of the-most-slender (poorest),

adest. Enim quis est, cui hæc templa, aspectus  
 is-present. For who is there, to whom these temples, the sight

urbis, possessio libertatis, denique hæc lux ipsa,  
 of the city, the possession of liberty, finally this light itself,

et hoc commune solum patriæ, sit non cum  
 and this common soil of country, may-be not when

carum, tum vero dulce atque jucundum?  
 (as well) dear, then (as) truly sweet and pleasant?

8. Est pretium operæ, conscripti patres,  
 It-is the price of labour (it is worth while), conscript fathers,

cognoscere studia  
 to know (to acquaint yourselves with) the studies (ardour)

libertinorum hominum, qui suâ virtute consecuti  
 of the freed-men, who by their virtue having-attained

fortunam civitatis, judicant hanc esse vere suam  
 the fortune of the state, judge this to-be truly their-own

patriam: quam quidam nati hinc, et nati  
 country: which some (persons) born hence, and born

summo loco, judicaverunt non esse suam  
 in the highest place (condition), have-judged not to be their-own

patriam, sed urbem hostium. Sed quid ego commemorem  
 country, but a city of enemies. But why may I-mention

homines hujusce ordinis, quos privatæ fortunæ, quos  
 the men of this order, whom private fortunes, whom

communis respublica, quos denique ea libertas, quæ  
 the common republic, whom finally that liberty, which

**est** dulcissima, excitavit ad salutem patriæ  
 is most-sweet, has-excited to the safety of (their) country  
 defendendam? Est nemo servus, qui sit modè  
 to be-defended? There-is no-one a slave, who may-be only  
 tolerabili conditione servitutis, qui perhorrescat non  
 in a tolerable condition of slavery, who may-dread not  
 audaciam perditorum civium, qui cupiat non  
 the audacity of lost (abandoned) citizens, who may-desire not  
 hæc stare, qui conferat non tantum voluntatis  
 these (things) to stand, who may-confer not so-much of good-will  
 quantum audet, et quantum potest ad communem  
 as he dares, and as he-is-able to the common  
 salutem. Quare si forte hoc quod auditum est  
 safety. Wherefore if by-chance this which has-been-heard  
 commovet quem vestrum, quendam lenonem Lentuli  
 moves any-one of you, a certain pimp of Lentulus  
 concursare circum tabernas, sperantem animos  
 to run-about around the shops, hoping the minds  
 egentium atque imperitorum posse sollicitari  
 of the needy and of the unskillful to be-able to be-solicited  
 pretio; id quidem coeptum (est) atque  
 by a price (reward); that indeed has been-begun and  
 tentatum: sed nulli inventi sunt aut tam miseri  
 tried: but none have-been-found either so wretched  
 fortunâ, aut tam perditâ voluntate, qui velint  
 in fortune, or so lost (abandoned) in will, who may-wish  
 non illum locum ipsum sellæ atque operis, et  
 not that place itself of (their) seat (stall) and of work, and  
 quotidiani quæstus, qui non suum cubile ac  
 of daily gain, who (may wish) not his couch and  
 lectulum, denique qui non hunc otiosum  
 little-bed, finally who (may wish) not this idle (peaceable)  
 cursum suæ vitæ esse salvum. Vero multo maxima  
 course of their life to be safe. But by much the greatest  
 pars eorum, qui sunt in tabernis, immo vero (enim  
 part of those, who are in the shops, yes truly (for  
 id est potius dicendum) universum hoc genus,  
 that is rather to be-said) the whole this kind (class)



est amantissimum otii. Etenim omne instrumentum,  
 is most-loving of ease. For all the apparatus,  
 omnis opera, ac quæstus eorum sustinetur  
 all the labour, and gain of them is-supported  
 frequentiâ civium, alitur otio: si quæstus  
 by-assemblage of citizens, is-cherished by ease: if the gain  
 quorum solet minui, tabernis oclclusis, quid  
 of whom is-accustomed to be-diminished, the shops being-shut, what  
 tandem est futurum, incensis. Cum  
 at-length is about-to-be, (the shops) being-set-on-fire. Since  
 quæ sint ita, conscripti patres, præsidia  
 which (things) may-be thus, conscript fathers, the guards (protection)  
 Romani populi desunt non vobis: providete ne  
 of the Roman people are-wanting not to you: foresee lest  
 vos videamini deesse Romano populo.  
 you may-seem to-be-wanting to the Roman people.

9. Habetis consulem reservatum ex plurimis  
 You have a consul reserved out-of very-many  
 periculis et insidiis, atque ex mediâ morte, non  
 dangers and snares, and out-of middle death, not  
 ad suam vitam, sed ad vestram salutem:  
 to (for) his-own life, but to (for) your safety:  
 omnes ordines consentiunt mente, voluntate,  
 all orders (ranks) agree in mind, in will,  
 studio, virtute, voce ad rempublicam  
 in ardour, in valour, in voice to (for) the republic  
 conservandam: communis patria obsessa facibus  
 to be-preserved: (your) common country beset with the torches  
 et telis impiæ conjurationis, supplex tendit  
 and weapons of an impious conspiracy, suppliant stretches (her)  
 manus vobis: commendat vobis se, vobis vitam  
 hands to you: she commends to you herself, to you the life  
 omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium  
 of all the citizens, to you the citadel and the Capitol  
 vobis aras Penatium, vobis illum perpetuum ac  
 to you the altars of the Penates, to you that perpetual and  
 sempiternum ignem Vestæ, vobis omnia templa  
 eternal fire of Vesta, to you all the temples

atque delubra deorum, vobis muros atque tecta  
and shrines of the gods, to you the walls and roofs (houses,

urbis. Præterea est judicandum vobis  
of the city. Besides it is to be-judged to you (by you)

hodierno die de vestrâ vitâ, de animâ  
on-this-day concerning your life, concerning the life

vestrarum conjugum ac liberorum, de fortunis  
of your wives and children, concerning the fortunes

omnium, de sedibus, de vestris  
of all, concerning (your) seats (abodes), concerning your

focis. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum  
hearths. You have a leader mindful of you, forgetful

sui, quæ facultas datur non semper: habetis  
of himself, which means is-given not always: you have

omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum Romanum  
all ranks, all men, the whole Roman

populum, id quod videmus primum in  
people, that which we-see first (for the first time) in

civili causâ hodierno die, sentientem unum atque  
a civil cause on-this-day, thinking one and

idem. Cogitate una nox pæne deleat  
the same (thing). Think one night almost may have-destroyed

imperium fundatum quantis laboribus, libertatem  
an empire founded with how-great labours, liberty

stabilitam quantâ virtute, fortunas auctas que  
established by how-great valour, fortunes increased and

exaggeratas quantâ benignitate deorum. Est  
heaped-up by how-great kindness of the gods. It-is

providendum hodierno die, non modo ne id possit  
to be-foreseen on this-day, not only lest that may be-able

umquam posthac confici, sed ne quidem  
ever hereafter to be-performed, but not-even

cogitari a civibus. Atque locutus sum hæc,  
to be-thought (devised) by citizens. And I have-spoken these

non ut excitarem vos, qui pæne præcurritis  
(things), not that I might-excite you, who almost run-before

mihi studio; sed ut mea vox, quæ debet  
to me (outstrip me) in ardour; but that my voice, which ought

esse princeps in republicâ, videretur functa (esse,  
to be chief (first) in the republic, might-seem to have-discharged

consulari officio.

with the consular duty (to have discharged the consular duty).

10. Nunc, conscripti patres, antequam redeo ad  
Now, conscript fathers, before-that I return to

sententiam, dicam pauca de me.  
the opinion, I will-say a few (things) concerning myself.

Ego video me suscepisse tantam multitudinem  
I see myself to have-taken-up so-great a multitude

inimicorum, quanta manus conjuratorum est,  
of enemies, as-great-as the band of the conspirators is,

quam videtis esse permagnam: sed judico eam esse  
which you see to be very-great: but I judge it to be

turpem et infirmam, contemtam et abjectam.  
base and weak, despised and abject.

Quod si aliquando, ista manus concitata furore  
But-if at-sometime, that band being-excited by the fury

et scelere alicujus, valuerit plus quam  
and by the crime of some-one, shall-have-prevailed more than

vestra dignitas ac reipublicæ; tamen, conscripti  
your dignity and (that) of the republic; yet, conscript

patres, poenitebit me numquam meorum factorum  
fathers, it will-repent me never of my deeds

atque consiliorum. Etenim mors, quam illi fortasse  
and counsels. For death, which they perhaps

minitantur mihi, est parata omnibus: nemo  
threaten to me, is prepared for all: no-one

assecutus est tantam laudem vitæ, quantâ vos  
has-attained so-great praise of life, with as-great-as you

honestastis me vestris decretis. Enim decrevistis  
have-ennobled me by your decrees. For you have-decreed

semper ceteris gratulationem reipublicæ gestæ  
always to others thanksgiving of the republic being-carried-or

bene, mihi uni reipublicæ conservatæ. Ille  
well to me one (alone) of the republic being-preserved. That

Scipio sit clarus, consilio que virtute cujus  
Scipio may-be famous, by the counsel and by the valour of whom

**Hannibal** coactus est redire in Africam, atque  
**Hannibal** was-forced to return into Africa, and

**decedere** ex Italiâ: alter Africanus  
 to depart out-of Italy: the other (Scipio) Africanus

**ornetur** eximiâ laude, qui delevit duas  
 may-be-adorned with excellent praise, who destroyed the two

**urbes infestissimas** huic imperio, Carthaginem que  
 cities most-hostile to this empire, Carthage and

**Numantiam**: ille L. Paullus habeatur egregius  
 Numantia: that L. Paullus may-be-held (accounted) an excellent

**vir,** currum cuius Perses, rex quondam  
 man, the chariot of whom Perses, a king once

**potentissimus** et nobilissimus, honestavit: Marius  
 most-powerful and most-noble, ennobled: Marius

**sit** in æternâ gloriâ, qui bis liberavit Italiam  
 may-be in eternal glory, who twice freed Italy

**obsidione** et metu servitutis: Pompeius  
 from siege and from fear of slavery: Pompey

**anteponatur** omnibus, res gestæ  
 may-be-placed-before (preferred) to all, the things carried-on

**atque virtutes** cuius continentur iisdem  
 (the exploits) and virtues of whom are-bounded by the same

**regionibus** ac terminis quibus cursus solis.  
 regions and limits by which the course of the sun

**Erit** profecto inter laudes horum  
 (is bounded). There-will-be indeed among the praises of these

**aliquid loci** nostræ gloriæ: nisi forte  
 something of place to our (for my) glory: unless by chance

**est** majus patefacere provincias nobis, quo  
 it-is a greater (thing) to open provinces to us, whither

**possimus** exire, quam curare ut etiam illi  
 we may-be-able to go-out, than to take-care that even those

**qui absunt** habeant quo victores  
 who are-absent may have (a place) whither (being) conquerors

**revertantur.** Quamquam uno loco conditio  
 they may-return. Although in one place (respect) the condition

**externæ** victoriæ est melior quam domesticæ;  
 of external victory is better than (that) of domestic (victory)

quod hostes, alienigenæ, aut oppressi serviunt  
because enemies, foreigners, either being-oppressed serve

aut, recepti, putant  
(become subservient), or, being-received (into friendship), think

se obligatos beneficio: autem, ex numero  
themselves obliged by the favour: but, out-of the number

civium, qui depravati aliqua dementiâ,  
of citizens, (those) who being-depraved by some madness,

cœperunt semel esse hostes patriæ, cum  
have-begun once to be enemies of the country, when

repuleris a pernicië reipublicæ,  
thou mayst-have-repulsed (them) from the destruction of the republic,

possis nec coërcere eos vi nec placare  
thou mayst-be-able neither to restrain them by force nor to appease

beneficio. Quare video æternum bellum  
by kindness. Wherefore I see an eternal war

susceptum esse mihi cum perditis  
to have-been-undertaken to me (by me) with lost (abandoned)

civibus: quod, vestro auxilio, que omnium  
citizens: which, by your aid, and (by that) of all

bonorum, que memoriâ tantorum periculorum,  
the good, and by the memory of so-great dangers,

quæ semper hærebit, non modo in hoc populo qui  
which always will adhere, not only in this people which

servatus est, sed etiam in sermonibus ac mentibus  
has-been-preserved, but also in the discourses and the mind

omnium gentium, ego confido posse facile propulsari  
of all nations, I trust to be-able easily to be-repulsed

a me atque a meis. Neque profecto ulla tanta  
from me and from mine. Nor indeed any so-great

vis reperietur, quæ possit perfringere et  
violence will be-found, which may-be-able to break-through and

labefactare vestram conjunctionem que Romanorum  
to overthrow your union and (that) of the Roman

equitum, et tantam conspirationem omnium bonorum.  
knights, and so-great agreement of all the good.

11. Cum quæ sint ita, conscripti patres,  
Since which (things) may-be so, conscript fathers,



**pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provinciâ, quam**  
 for the command, for the army, for the province, which  
**neglexi, pro triumpho, que ceteris insignibus**  
 I have-neglected, for the triumph, and the other marks  
**laudis, quæ repudiata sunt a me, propter**  
 of praise, which have-been-rejected by me, because-of  
**custodiam urbis que vestræ salutis, pro**  
 the guardianship of the city and of your safety, for  
**clientelis que hospitiiis provincialibus,**  
 the clientships and friendships belonging-to-the-provinces (for my  
 clients and friends in the provinces), which yet I defend  
**opibus urbanis non minore labore**  
 by the resources belonging-to-the-city not with less labour  
**quam comparo: igitur pro omnibus his**  
 than I procure (them): therefore for all these  
**rebus, pro meis singularibus studiis in vos,**  
 things, for my singular studies (ardour) unto you,  
**que pro hâc diligentia, quam conspicitis, ad**  
 and for this (my) diligence, which you perceive, to (for)  
**republicam conservandam, postulo nihil aliud**  
 the republic to be-preserved, I require nothing other (else)  
**a vobis, nisi memoriam hujus temporis,**  
 from you, unless the memory (remembrance) of this time  
**que totius mei consulatus: dum quæ erit**  
 and of the whole of my consulship: while which shall-be  
**infixa vestris mentibus arbitrabor me esse septum**  
 infixed to your minds I shall-think myself to be inclosed  
**firmissimo muro. Quod si vis improborum**  
 by a most-strong wall. But-if the violence of the dishonest  
**fefellerit atque superaverit meam spem,**  
 shall-have-deceived and shall-have-overcome my hope,  
**commendo vobis meum parvum filium; cui profecto**  
 I commend to you my little son; to whom indeed  
**erit satis præsidii, non solum ad**  
 there will-be enough of guard (protection), not only to (for)  
**salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si**  
 safety, but even to (for) dignity, if

memineritis illum esse filium ejus  
 you shall-have-remembered him to be the son of that person  
 qui solus conservaverit omnia hæc suo  
 who alone may-have-preserved all these (things) at his-own  
 periculo. Quapropter, conscripti patres, decernite  
 danger. On-which-account, conscript fathers, decree  
 diligenter, ut instituistis, ac fortiter, de  
 diligently, as you have-begun, and boldly, concerning  
 vestrâ summâ salute, que Romani populi,  
 your highest safety, and (that) of the Roman people,  
 de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de  
 concerning your wives and children, concerning  
 aris ac fociis, de fanis ac templis,  
 (your) altars and hearths, concerning (your) fane and temples,  
 de tectis ac sedibus totius urbis,  
 concerning the roofs and seats (abodes) of the whole city,  
 de imperio, de libertate, de salute  
 concerning the empire, concerning liberty, concerning the safety  
 Italiæ, que de universâ republicâ. Enim  
 of Italy, and concerning the whole republic. For  
 habetis eum consulem qui dubitet non et  
 you have that consul who may-doubt (hesitate) not both  
 parere vestris decretis, et defendere ea  
 to obey to your decrees, and to defend those (things)  
 quæ statueritis quoad vivet, et  
 which you shall-have-determined as-long-as he shall-live, and  
 præstare per se ipsum, possit.  
 to perform (them) by himself, (as-long-as) he may-be-able.

ORATIO

THE ORATION

MARCI TULLII CICERONIS,  
OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

PRO

FOR

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POËTA.

A. LICINUS ARCHIAS THE POET.

---

1. Si quid ingenii est in me iudices, quod  
If aught of talent is in me O judges, (and) which  
quam exiguum sit sentio; aut si qua exercitatio  
how slight it-is I-feel; or is any practice  
dicendi, in quâ non infitior me esse  
in (public) speaking, in which I do not deny (that) I am  
mediocriter versatum; aut si aliqua ratio  
moderately experienced; or if any method [systematic  
huiusce rei  
knowledge] of-this-same thing [of this same art of public speaking]  
profecta ab studiis optimarum artium  
arising from the-study of-the-best arts [liberal sciences]  
ac disciplinâ, a quâ ego confiteor nullum  
and from-instruction, from which I confess no  
tempus meæ ætatis abhorruiſſe.  
time [part] of-my life to-have-been-averse [to have been  
Hic A. Licinus debet vel in  
estranged] This A. Licinus ought [is entitled] even in [among]  
primis repetere a me fructum omnium  
the-first to-claim-in-return from me the fruit [benefit] of all

earum rerum prope sue  
 these things [of all these mental endowments] nearly-(as) his  
 jure. Nam quoad longissimè mea mens  
 (own peculiar) right. For as far (as) my mind  
 potest respicere spatium præteriti temporis, et  
 can look-back (on) the space of past time, and  
 recordari ultimam memoriam pueritiæ,  
 (can) recall the-most-remote remembrance (of early) youth,  
 repetens inde usque, video  
 repeating [tracing] (my life) thence even-to (the present time), I-see  
 hunc exstitisse mihi principem,  
 this (man) to-have-been to-me (my) principal (leader).  
 et ad suscipiendam, et ad ingrediendam  
 both in undertaking, and in entering-on (progressing in)  
 rationem horum studiorum. Quod si  
 the-method [principles] of these studies. Because [and] if  
 hæc vox conformata hortatu que  
 this voice (of mine) formed by-the-encouragement and  
 præceptis hujus, fuit aliquando salutis  
 precepts of this (man), was at-any-time a means (of) safety  
 nonnullis, debemus profectò quantum est situm in  
 to some, we ought certainly as much (as) is placed in  
 nobis fere et opem et salutem  
 us [as far as lies in our power] to bring both aid and safety  
 huic ipsi, a quo accepimus id, quo  
 to this (man) himself, from whom we-have-received that, by which  
 possemus opitulari et servare alios. Ac ne  
 we-might (be able) to aid and to-save others. And lest  
 quis a nobis forte miretur hoc ita  
 any-one from (among) us by-chance might-wonder (at) this so  
 dici, quod sit in hoc quædam alia  
 said (by me), because there-is in this (Archias) some other  
 facultas ingenii que ne hæc  
 faculty of-genius (a somewhat different talent) and not this  
 ratio aut disciplina dicendi,  
 science or discipline (of public) speaking (which we may possess),  
 ne quidem fuimus nos unquam penitus dediti  
 nor indeed were we (ourselves) ever entirely given

huic uni studio. Etenim omnes artes, quæ  
 to-this one study (of oratory). For all the arts, which  
 pertinent ad humanitatem habent  
 may-relate to humanity [to liberal and polite studies] have  
 quoddam commune vinculum, et continentur  
 some common bond (of union) and are contained  
 quasi quâdam cognatione inte  
 [are connected together] as-if by some relationship amon  
 se.  
 themselves.

2. Sed ne videatur esse mirum cui  
 But (that) it may not appear to be wonderful to-any (one)  
 vestrum, me in legitimâ questione, et in publico  
 of you, (that) I in a legal question, and in a public  
 judicio, cum res agatur apud  
 court (of justice) when the thing (the action) is tried before  
 prætorem Romani populi lectissimum virum,  
 a prætor of-the-Roman people the-most-select of men  
 et apud severissimos judices,  
 [a most meritorious man], and before most-grave [strict] judges,  
 tanto conventu ac frequentiâ hominum uti  
 (and) in such an assembly and multitude of men should use  
 hoc genere dicendi, quod abhorreat non modò  
 this kind (of public) speaking, which is at variance not only  
 a consuetudine judiciorum verum etiam a  
 with the custom of courts (of justice) but also with  
 forensi sermone: quæso a vobis, ut  
 forensic speech [pleading at the bar]: I request of you, that  
 detis mihi, in hac causâ, hanc veniam,  
 you-may-grant me, in this case, that indulgence,  
 accommodatam huic reo, quemadmodum spero  
 suitable to this defendant, (and) as I-hop  
 non molestam vobis, ut patiamini me dicentem pro  
 not disagreeable to-you, that you may allow me pleading for  
 summo poëtâ atque eruditissimo homine, hoc  
 a distinguished poet and for-a-most-learned man, in this  
 concursu literatissimorum hominum, hac vestrâ  
 noncourse of-most-instructed men, before-this your



humanitate,

humanity [before a court constituted of men distinguished for such liberal

denique, hoc prætore exercente iudicium,  
knowledge], in-fine, such-a prætor exercising judicature

loqui paullò liberius de studiis  
[presiding at the trial], to speak a little more-freely of the studies

humanitatis ac literarum, et in personâ ejusmodi,  
of-the-liberal-arts and literature, and in a character such-as-this,

quæ, propter otium ac studium, est minimè  
who, on account (of his) quiet-life and studies, 'is very little

tractata in judiciis que periculis, uti propè  
conversant in public trials and (their) risks, to use nearly

quodam novo et inusitato genere dicendi.  
a certain new and unusual mode of-speaking.

Quod si sentiam tribui que  
Which (indulgence) if (as) I feel is to be granted and

concedi mihi a vobis, profectò perficiam, ut  
allowed to me by you, assuredly I-will-effect, that

putetis, hunc A. Licinium non modo non  
you-may-think, (that) this A. Licinium 'is not only not

segregandum a numero civium  
'to be separated from the number of citizens [to be deprived of the

cum sit civis, verùm etiam, si  
rights of citizenship] when he is a-citizen, but (that) also, if

esset non, fuisse adsciscendum.  
he were not (a citizen), he-ought-to-have-been admitted (among them).

8. Nam ut Archias primum excessit ex pueris,  
For as Archias first grew-out of boyhood,

atque ab iis artibus, quibus puerilis ætas  
and from (the study of) those arts, by-which puerile age

solet informari ad humanitatem contulit se ad  
is-wont to be trained to liberal knowledge he devoted himself to

studium scribendi: primum Antiochiæ  
to-the-study of writing [poetic composition]: at first at Antioch

nam natus est ibi nobili loco)  
for he-was-born there in-an-illustrious rank) [of a noble family]

quondam celebri et copiosâ urbe, atque affluentî,  
formerly a celebrated and rich city, and abounding,

eruditissimis hominibus, que liberalissimis  
 with-the-most-learned men, and (celebrated for) liberal  
 studiis, contigit celeriter antecellere omnibus  
 studies, it-happened (to him) speedily to excel all  
 gloriâ ingenii. Pòst in ceteris partibus  
 in the renown (of his) talents. Afterwards in other parts  
 Asiæ que cunctæ Græciæ, ejus adventus celebrabantur  
 of-Asia and of all Greece, his arrivals were celebrated  
 sic, ut expectatio hominis  
 so [were so much talked of], that the expectation of-the-man [desire  
 superaret famam ingenii,  
 of seeing the man] might exceed (even) the fame of (his) talents (but),  
 adventus ipsius que admiratio  
 the arrival of himself and the admiration (it caused even surpassed)  
 expectationem. Italia erat tunc plena Græcarum  
 the expectation. Italy was then full of-Greek  
 artium ac disciplinarum, que hæc studia colebantur  
 arts and culture, and these studies were cultivated  
 et tum in Latio vehementiùs, quam nunc in  
 both then in Latium more ardently, than (they are) now in  
 iisdem oppidis, et hîc Romæ propter  
 the-same towns, and here at-Rome (for) on-account-of  
 tranquillitatem reipublicæ non neglegebantur  
 the tranquillity of the republic 'they were not 'neglected (but  
 Itaque et Tarentini et Rhegini  
 flourished greatly). Therefore both the Tarentinians and the Rhegians  
 et Neapolitani donarunt hunc civitate  
 and the Neapolitans rewarded him with-the-city [granted him  
 que ceteris præmiis; et omnes  
 the rights of citizenship] and with-other gifts; and all (men)  
 qui poterant judicare aliquid de ingeniis  
 who could judge any-thing of talents [who had discern  
 existimarunt dignum  
 ment enough to distinguish merit] thought (him) worthy (of their)  
 cognitione atque hospitio. Cum esset jam notus  
 acquaintance and hospitality. When he-was already known  
 hac tantâ celebritate famæ absentibus, venit  
 by-this so-great celebritas of reputation to-those-absent, he came

Romam, Mario consule, et Catulo. Nactus est,  
to-Rome, Marius being-consul, and Catulus. He-found

primùm, eos consules, quorum alter posset adhibere  
at first, those consuls, of whom the one could furnish (him,

maximas res ad scribendum, cum alter  
the greatest subjects to be-written-on, when the other (could not

res gestas, tum etiam  
only furnish him) things performed [military achievements], but also

studium atque aures. Statim  
(an attachment to liberal) studies and (correct) ears. Immediately

Luculli, cum Aarchias esset etiam tum prætextatus,  
the Luculli, though Aarchias was even then a young-man,

receperunt eum suam domum. Sed hoc  
received him 'into their 'house. But this (was)

non solum ingenii ac literarum,  
not only (on account 'of his) 'talents and 'of (his) 'learning,

verùm etiam naturæ atque  
but also 'of (his) 'nature [good natural disposition] and

virtutis, ut domus, quæ fuerit prima  
'of (his) 'virtue, that the house, which had been the first (residence)

hujus adolescentiæ, eadem esset familiarissima  
of his youth, the same was most-familiar

senectuti. Erat illis temporibus jucundus  
'to (his) 'old age. He was at-that time agreeable

Q. Metello illi Numidico,  
[held in affectionate esteem] to Q. Metellus that (celebrated) Numidicus,

et ejus filio Pio. Audiebatur a M. Æmilio;  
and his son Pius. He-was-listened-to by M. Æmilius;

vivebat cum Q. Catulo, et patre et  
he lived (on terms of intimacy) with Q. Catulus, both father and

filio; colebatur a L. Crasso. Cum teneret  
son; he-was-greatly-esteemed by L. Crassus When (as also) he held

devinctam consuetudine Lucullos vero,  
attached (to himself) by habits (of intimacy) the-Luculli indeed,

et Drusum, et Octavios, et Catonem, et totam  
also Drusus, and the-Octavii, and Cato, and the-whole

domum Hortensiorum, afficiebatur summo  
family of the Hortensii, he-was-rewarded with-the-greatest

honore; quod  
 honour [he was held by them in the greatest honour and esteem]; for  
 non solum colebant eum, qui  
 not only (those) cultivated him [courted his acquaintance], who  
 studebant percipere atque audire aliquid, verum  
 studied to learn and to hear something, but  
 etiam, si qui forte simulabant.  
 also, if any one by chance affected (this).

4. Interim, satis longo intervallo,  
 In-the-meanwhile, a sufficiently long interval (of time  
 cum esset profectus cum L. Lucullo in  
 having elapsed), when he had gone with L. Lucullo into  
 Siciliam, et cum decederet ex eâ provinciâ cum  
 Sicily, and when he departed from that province with  
 eodem Lucullo, venit Heracleam. Quæ cum esset  
 the-same Lucullus, he came to Heraclea. Which as it-was  
 civitas æquissimo jure ac  
 a-city (enjoying) the-very-same rights (and privileges with Rome) and  
 fœdere voluit adscribi se in  
 'in (strict) 'alliance (therewith) he desired to-be-enrolled himself in  
 eam civitatem; que cum ipse putaretur dignus  
 that city (as a citizen); and as he was thought worthy  
 per se, tum auctoritate et graciâ Luculli  
 (of it) by himself, as-well-as by-the-authority and favour of Lucullus  
 impetravit id ab Heracleensibus. Civitas  
 as obtained this from the Heracleans. The-rights-of-Roman-citizenship  
 est data lege Silvani et Carbonis. "Si  
 was granted (to him) by-the-law of-Silvanus and of Carbo. "If  
 qui fuissent adscripti fœderatis civitatibus;  
 any-persons had-been enrolled among-the-confederated cities;  
 si cum lex ferebatur habuissent domicilium in  
 if when the-law was-passed they had a-residence in  
 Italiâ; et si sexaginta diebus essent professi apud  
 Italy; and if in sixty days they had declared before  
 prætorem."  
 Cum hic haberet  
 the prætor (their wish to be enrolled as citizens)." As he had  
 jam domicilium multos annos, professus est  
 already a residence (of) many years, he-declared (his intention)

apud Q. Metellum, prætorem, suum familiarissimum.  
before Q. Metellus, the prætor, his most-intimate-friend.

Si dicimus nihil aliud nisi de civitate ac lege,  
If we say nothing else except about (his) citizenship and the law

dico nihil amplius; causa  
(as relates to it), 'I (need) 'say nothing more; the cause

dicta est. Enim quid horum Grati  
is-pleaded (and is gained). For which of these (statements) O Gratus

potest infirmari? ne negabis esse  
can be-invalidated? 'you 'will not 'deny (that) he was

adscriptum tam Heracleæ? Adest  
enrolled then (among the citizens) at Heraclea? There is present

vir summâ auctoritate, et religione  
a man (having) the highest authority, and religion [scrupulous

et fide, L. Lucullus, qui dicit se  
regard for truth] and integrity, L. Lucullus, who says (that) he

non opinari, sed scire, non  
does not think, but (that) he knows (it to be so), (that) 'he 'did not

audivisse, sed vidisse non interfuisse,  
'hear, but saw (it) (that) 'he 'was not only 'present,

sed egisse. Heracleenses legati adsunt,  
but acted (in the affair). Heracleean delegates are present,

nobilissimi homines; venerunt causâ  
most-celebrated men (of the highest rank); they have come on account

hujus judicii, cum mandatis et cum publico  
of this trial, with instructions (from their city) and with public

testimonio; qui dicunt hunc adscriptum  
testimony; who say (that) he (was) a naturalized

Heracleensem. Hic tu desideras publicas tabulas  
Heracleean. Here you desire the public registers

Heracleensium, quas omnes scimus interisse  
of the Heracleans, which 'we all 'know to-have-perished

Italico bello, tabulario incenso. Est ridiculum,  
in the-Italian war, the registry being burned. It is ridiculous,

dicere nihil ad ea quæ habemus; quærere  
to say nothing to those (proofs) which we have; (but) to ask-for

quæ possumus non habere; et tacere  
(these) which we can not have; and to be silent



de memoriâ hominum, flagitare  
concerning the recollection [testimony] of men, (and) to-insist-on

memoriam literarum; et cum habeas  
the testimony of records; and when you-may-have

religionem amplissimi viri,  
the conscientious-testimony of a most-honourable man, (and)

jusjurandum que fidem integerrimi municipii,  
the oath and faith of a most-respectable municipality

epudiare ea, quæ possunt nullo modo  
to reject these (things), which can in no manner

depravari desiderare tabulas, quas idem dicis  
be falsified (and) to require registers, which even you-say

solere corrumpi. At habuit non domicilium in  
are accustomed to be altered. But he-had not a domicile in

Italiâ: is qui tot annis ante civitatem datam,  
Italy: (not) he who for-so-many years before citizenship was granted

collocavit sedem omnium suarum rerum ac  
(him), had placed the seat of all his effects and

fortunarum Romæ? At non est professus?  
of all his fortunes at Rome? But 'he 'did not declare (his

Immo vero iis  
intention of becoming a citizen)? Yes indeed (he did, and) in-those

tabulis professus quæ solæ ex illâ  
registers did he declare (his intention) which alone out-of that

professione, que collegio prætorum obtinent  
declaration, and college of prætors obtains

autoritatem publicarum tabularum.  
the authority of public registers.

5. Nam cum tabulæ Appii dicerentur asservatæ  
For as the registers of Appius were-said (to) have-been-kept

negligentius, levitas Gabinii  
very carelessly, the trifling (and inconsistent conduct) of Gabinus

quamdiu fuit incolumis, calamitas post  
as-long-as he-was safe (and), the misfortune after (his)

damnationem, resignasset omnem fidem tabularum;  
condemnation, had-taken-away all the faith of the registers

Metellus, homo  
[had deprived his registers of all credit]; Metellus, a man

sanctissimus que modestissimus omnium, fuit tanta  
the most pure and scrupulous of all (men), was so

diligentia, ut venerit ad L. Lentulum  
(full of) care, that he came to L. Lentulus

prætozem, et ad iudices, et dixerit, se esse  
the prætor, and to the judges, and said (that), he was

commotum liturâ unius nominis. Igitur his  
disturbed by-the-erasure of-a-single name. Therefore in these

tabulis videtis nullam lituram in nomen A. Licinii.  
registers you-see no erasure in the name of A. Licinius.

Quæ cum sint ita, quid est quod dubitetis  
Which (things) when they are so, what is there that you-may-doubt

de ejus civitate, præsertim cum fuerit adscriptus  
about his citizenship, especially as he was enrolled

quoque in aliis civitatibus? Etenim cum  
also in other cities (as a citizen)? For when

homines in Græciâ impertiebantur  
the men in Greece [Magna Græcia, or Southern Italy] granted

civitatem multis mediocribus, et præditis  
the-rights-of-citizenship to many ordinary-men, and endowed

aut nullâ arte aut aliquâ humili, gratuito,  
either with no profession or some low-one, (and this) gratuitously

credo Rheginos aut Locrenses, aut  
(can) I believe, (that) the Rhegians or the Locrians, or

Neapolitanos, aut Tarentinos noluisse id huic  
the Neapolitans, or Tarentines would not (give) that to him

prædito summâ gloriâ ingenii, quod solebant  
endowed-with the greatest renown of talent, which they-were-accustomed

largiri scenicis artificibus. Quid? cum ceteri, non  
to grant to theatrical artists. What? when others, not

modo post civitatem datam, sed etiam  
only after citizenship had-been-granted (to them), but also

post Papiam legem, irrepserint aliquo modo in  
after the Papian law, had crept by some means into

tabulas eorum municiporum; hic rejicietur, qui  
the registers of these municipalities; 'will-he-be 'rejected, who

ne utitur quidem illis in quibus est  
does not 'avail (himself) indeed of these in which he is

scriptus, quòd semper voluit se esse  
 enrolled, because <sup>1</sup>he always <sup>1</sup>wished himself to be (considered)

Heracleensem. Requiris nostros census  
 a Heracleean. You demand our census [the censor's lists]

scilicet. Est enim obscurum, proximis censoribus  
 indeed, It is then unknown (that), under-the-last censors

hunc fuisse cum  
 [at the time of taking the last census] he was with

clarissimo imperatore L. Lucullo apud exercitum;<sup>1</sup>  
 the-most-illustrious commander L. Lucullus with the army;

superioribus fuisse cum  
 (that at the time of) the-preceding (census to this last) he-was with

eodem quæstore in Asiâ;  
 the same (person when he was) quæstor in Asia; (that)

primis Julio et Crasso  
 in-the-first (census, after he became a citizen) Julius and Crassus

nullam partem populi esse censam.  
 (being censors) no part of-the-people was rated

Sed quoniam census non  
 [no census was taken]. But as the census <sup>1</sup>does not

confirmat jus civitatis, ac tantummodò indicat  
 'confirm the-right of-citizenship, and only indicates

eum, qui sit census se  
 (that) he, who may-be rated [returned in the census] (that) he

jam tum gessisse ita, pro cive;  
 already then had-conducted (himself) so, as a citizen (as to claim

iis temporibus, quæ tu criminari  
 enrollment); at-the-same time, that you charge (that)

ne quidem ipsius judicio eum versatum esse  
 not even 'in his-own 'opinion 'did he 'exercise

jure Romanorum civium, et sæpe fecit  
 the right of Roman citizens, 'he both often 'made

testamentum nostris legibus, et adit  
 a will (according) to our laws, and he entered on

hæreditas Romanorum civium, et  
 inheritances (left to him by) Roman citizens, and (his name)

delatus est ad ærarium in beneficiis,  
was-carried to the-public-treasury among the-beneficiaries [and the

a L.

honourable mention of his name was enrolled in the public treasury], by L.

Lucullo proconsule.

Lucullus the proconsul.

6. Quære argumenta, si potes quæ  
Seek (for other) proofs, if you can (find) any

Enim hic nunquam revincetur neque suo  
For this (Archias) never will-be-refuted either by-his-own

judicio, neque amicorum.  
opinion, or (that of his) friends.

Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tantopere  
You ask of us, O Gratus, why 'we 'are so greatly

delectemur hoc homine. Quia suppeditat nobis  
'taken-up with-this man. Because he supplies us

ubi et animus reficiatur ex hoc forensi  
(with that) whereby both the mind may-be-refreshed after this forensic

strepitu et aures defessæ convicio  
noise [after the noise of the forum] and the ears fatigued with wrangling

conquiescant. An tu existimas, aut posse  
may-find-repose. Or do you suppose, either (that it) would-be-possible

nobis suppetere, quod  
for us to-have-a sufficient supply (of subjects), which

dicamus quotidie, in tantâ varietate rerum,  
we-might-discourse-on daily, in such a-variety of things

nisi excolamus nostros animos  
[pleadings], unless we-cultivated our minds

doctrinâ, aut animos posse ferre  
by the study of literature, or (that) (our) minds could bear

tantam contentionem, nisi relaxemus eos eâdem  
(uch (great) efforts, unless we relaxed them by-the-same

doctrinâ? Ego vero fateor, me esse deditum  
studies? I indeed confess (that), I am given

his studiis; pudeat ceteros si qui ita  
to-these studies; 'let others 'be ashamed, if they 'have so

abdiderunt se literis, ut possint  
'buried themselves in literature [in the study of], that they can

affere nihil ex his, neque ad communem  
bring nothing from these (studies), either for the common  
fructum, neque profere in adspectum  
advantage, or to-bring-forth (any thing) to the view (of men)

que lucem.  
and the-light [or to publish any thing that may bear inspection].

Autem quid me pudeat, judices, qui tot  
But why (need) I be ashamed, O judges, who so-many

annos vivo ita, ut unquam aut meum  
years live [have lived] so, that ever either my

otium abstraxerit me, aut voluptas  
leisure [love of tranquillity] may-have-drawn me from, or pleasure

avocarit, aut denique somnus  
may-have-called (me) from, or in fine sleep

retardarit tempore aut commodo  
may-have-retarded (me) from the dangers or advantage

nullius? — †  
of any one [from defending those in danger, or forwarding the advan-

Quare quis tandem reprehendat  
tageous claims of others]? Wherefore who in fine may-reproach

me, aut quis jure succenseat mihi, si quantum  
me, or who by right may-be-angry with me, if as-much

temporum conceditur ceteris, ad obeundas suas res,  
time (as) is conceded to others, for transacting their affairs,

quantum ad celebrandos festos dies ludorum,  
as-much (as is given) for celebrating festival days of games,

quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad requiem  
as-much (as is given) to other pleasures, and to the rest

ipsam animi et corporis; quantum alii  
itself of the mind and of the body; as-much (time as) others

tribuunt tempestivis conviviis,  
devote to early banquets [to the pleasures of the table

quantum denique aleæ, quantum  
as-much in-fine (as is devoted) to dice [games of hazard], as-much

pilæ; tantum egomet sumpsero  
(as is devoted to) ball-playing; so-much (time) I shall-have-taken

mihi ad recolenda hæc  
to myself [may I not take the same time] for again-cultivating these



studia? Atque hoc est adeo magis concedendum  
 studies? And this is so-much the more to-be-allowed

mihi, quòd ex his studiis quoque hæc facultas et  
 to me, because from these studies also this faculty and

oratio crescit, quæ,  
 speaking [this faculty of public speaking] improves (in me), which,

quantacunque est in me, nunquam deficit  
 in-whatever-degree it exists in me, never was-wanting

periculis amicorum.  
 to-the-dangers 'of (my) 'friends [never was refused to defend my friends

Quæ si videtur levior cui, certe  
 a danger]. Which if it-may-seem trifling to-any-one, certainly

quidem sentio, ex quo fonte hauriam, illa  
 indeed I-know, from what source I-may-draw, those (subjects

quæ sunt summa. † Nam, nisi suasissem mihi  
 which are the most-important. For, unless I-had-persuaded myself

ab adolescentiâ, præceptis multorum, que  
 from youth (upwards), by-the-precepts of many (masters), and

multis literis esse nihil in vitâ, magnopere  
 by much literary-study (that) there is nothing in life, greatly

expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem,  
 to be-sought-after, except praise and honesty [an

autem in persequendâ ea,  
 honourable name], but in following (the attainment of) these,

omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque  
 all tortures of-the-body, all the dangers of death and

exilii, esse ducenda parvi; nunquam  
 of exile, are to be held as of small (account); never

objecissem me pro vestrâ salute in tot ac tantas  
 had-I-exposed myself for your safety in so many and so-great

dimicationes, atque in hos quotidianos impetus  
 contests, and in these daily attacks

profligatorum hominum. Sed omnes libri sunt pleni,  
 of profligate men. But all books are full,

voces sapientum plenæ, vetustas  
 the voices of-the-wise are full (of the maxims of philosophy), antiquity

plena exemplorum; omnia quæ jacerent in  
 (is) full of examples all which might-have-lain in

tenebris, nisi lumen literarum accederet.  
darkness, unless the light of literature had-approached (them)

Quàm multas imagines fortissimorum virorum  
How many images [delineations] of the bravest men

expressas, non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad  
delineated, not only to be contemplated, but also to

imitandum, et Græci et Latini scriptores  
be imitated, 'have both the Greek and Latin writers

reliquerunt nobis; quas ego, semper preponens  
'left us; which I, always placing

mibi in administrandâ republica,  
before me in conducting the republic [in administering public

conformabam meam mentem et animum ipsâ  
affairs], moulded my mind and soul by this

cogitatione excellentium hominum.  
contemplation of excellent men.

7. Quispiam quæret; quid? fuerunt illi ipsi  
'Should any one 'inquire; what? were those same

summi viri, quorum virtutes proditæ sunt  
illustrious men, whose virtues have-been-handed-down (to us)

litteris, eruditi istane doctrinâ, quam tu effers  
in books, instructed in-this-same learning, which you extol (by your)

laudibus. Est difficile confirmare hoc de omnibus;  
praises. It is difficult to-affirm this of all;

sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam.  
but yet this is certain, which I-may-answer (thereto).

Ego fateor multos homines fuisse excellenti  
I confess (that) many men have-been with distinguished

animo ac virtute, et sine doctrinâ, propè  
minds and virtue, and without learning, as-if-nearly

divino habitu naturæ ipsius, extitisse per  
by-the-divine disposition of nature itself, have-become of

se ipsos et moderatos et graves. Adjungo  
themselves both discreet and important (men). I add

etiam illud sæpius naturam, sine doctrinâ  
also this (that) more-often nature, without learning

valuisse ad laudem atque virtutem, quàm doctrinam  
has-availed for fame and virtue, than learning

sine naturâ.

without nature [without a good natural disposition],

Atque ego

And I

contendo idem, cum quædam ratio, que  
contend at-the-same (time), when a certain method, and

conformatio doctrinæ accesserit ad eximiam atque  
modelling of learning accedes to an excellent and

illustrem naturam, tum illud  
illustrious nature [natural disposition], then (that) that

nescio quid præclarum ac singulare  
I-know-not what brilliant and extraordinary (in the character)

solere existere; ex hoc numero esse hunc  
is-accustomed to-take-place; of this number was that

divinum hominem Africanum, quem nostri patres  
divine man Africanus, whom our fathers

viderunt; ex hoc C. Lælium L. Furium,  
saw; of this (number was) C. Lælium (and) L. Furius,

moderatissimos et continentissimos homines; ex hoc  
most-discreet and continent men; of this

fortissimum virum, M. Catonem,  
number was also that) most-vigorous man, M. Cato,

illum senem, et doctissimus illis temporibus,  
that old man [the elder], and the-most-learned in-those times.

qui profectò si nihil adjuvarentur literis  
who (all) indeed if 'they 'had not 'been-aided by literature

ad percipiendam que colendam virtutem, nunquam  
in understanding and cultivating virtue, 'would never

contulissent se ad studium earum.  
'have-applied themselves to the study of them [literature].

Quod si hic tantus fructus non ostenderetur,  
Even if this so-great advantage 'should not 'be-made-apparent,

et si delectatio sola peteretur ex his studiis, tamen,  
and if delight only is sought from these studies, however,

ut opinor, judicaretis hanc adversionem animi  
as I think, you-would-judge this employment of-the-mind

humanissimam ac liberalissimam. Nam ceteræ  
most-human and liberal. For other

sunt neque omnium temporum,  
'occupations) are (proper) neither (for) all times.

neque ætatum, neque locorum; hæc studia  
 nec (for all) ages, nor (for all) places; these studies  
 alunt adolescentiam, oblectant senectutem, ornant  
 foster youth, delight old-age, adorn  
 secundas res, adversis præbent perflugium ac  
 prosperity, in adversity they offer a refuge and  
 solatium, delectant domi, non impediunt  
 a comfort, they-delight (us) at-home, 'they 'do not hinder (us)  
 foris, pernoctant cum nobis, peregrin-  
 abroad, they-pass-the-night with us, they-accompany-us-in-  
 nantur, rusticantur.  
 our-journeys, they-pass-the-time-with-us-in-the-country.

8. Quodd si ipsi possemus neque attingere  
 Although if we-ourselves could neither attain-to  
 hæc, neque gustare nostro sensu,  
 these, nor taste (them) with-our senses [nor enjoy them],  
 tamen deberemus mirari ea, etiam cum videremus  
 nowever we ought to admire then, even when we-see  
 in aliis. Quis nostrum fuit tam agresti ac  
 (them) in others. Who of-us was (of) so rude and  
 duro animo, ut nuper morte Roscii non  
 insensible a mind, as lately at-the-death of-Roscius not (to)  
 commoveretur? Qui, mortuus esset cum  
 have-been-moved? Who (though he), died when (he was)  
 senex, tamen propter excellentem artem  
 an old-man, yet on-account-of (his) excellent art  
 ac venustatem, videbatur omnino  
 and the beauty (of his performance), appeared altogether (as if he)  
 debuisse non mori. Ergo ille tantum motu  
 ought not to die. Therefore (when) he only by-the-motion  
 corporis conciliarat sibi, a nobis  
 of (his) body [by his gestures] had gained for himself, from us  
 omnibus, amorem, nos negligemus incredibiles  
 all, (our) love, 'should we neglect the incredible  
 motus animorum, que celeritatem ingeniorum?  
 movements of-the-mind, and the-celerity of talents?  
 Quoties, judices, vidi ego hunc Archiam, (enim  
 How-often, O judges, 'have I 'seen this Archias, (for

utar vestrâ benignitate, quoniam tam diligenter  
 I-will-use your kindness, since you so attentively  
 attenditis me, in hoc novo genere dicendi), quoties  
 listen to-me, in this novel kind of pleading), how-often  
 vidi ego hunc, cum scripsisset nullam literam,  
 'have I 'seen him, when he-had-written not (even) a letter,  
 dicere ex tempore magnum numerum optimorum  
 to recite extempore a great number of the best  
 versuum, de iis ipsis rebus, quæ tum  
 verses, concerning the very same affairs, which 'were then  
 agerentur! quoties revocatum dicere eandem  
 'transacting! as-often-as he-was-recalled to-repeat the same  
 rem, commutatis verbis atque sententiis!  
 thing (he did it), with changed words and sentences!

Quæ vero scripsisset accuratè quæ cogitate,  
 That indeed which he-had-written accurately and with-reflection,

vidi ea sic probari, ut  
 I-have-seen them 'to-be so 'approved, that 'they (seemed as if)

pervenirent ad laudem veterum scriptorum.  
 they-had-attained to the praise of ancient writers [to the praise

Ego non diligam hunc?  
 bestowed on ancient writers]. 'Shall I not 'love this (man)?

non admirer? non putem  
 not admire (him)? 'may-I not 'think (that I ought)

defendendum omni ratione? Atqui,  
 to defend (him) by all means (in my power)? Moreover,

sic accepimus a summis quæ eruditissimis  
 'we-have so 'learned from most-eminent and most-learned

hominibus studia et doctrina ceterarum rerum  
 men, (that) the studies and sciences of other things

constare et præceptis et arte, poëtam valere  
 consists both in-precepts and art, (that) the poet prevailed

naturâ ipsâ, et excitari viribus  
 (as such) by nature itself, and (that) he-was-excited by-the-vigour

mentis, et inflari quasi  
 of (his) mind, and (that) he-was-breathed-into [inspired] as-if

quodam divino spiritu. Quare suo jure ille  
 by-some divine spirit. Wherefore by-his-own right 'does this



noster Ennius appellat poëtās sanctos, quod  
our Ennius call poets holy, because

videantur esse commendati nobis quasi aliquo dono  
they-seem to-be recommended to us as-if by-some gift

atque munere deorum. Igitur, iudices, hoc nomen  
and present of-the-Gods. 'Let then, O judges, 'his 'name

poëtæ sit sanctum apud vos, homines humanissimos,  
of poet 'be sacred with you, men (of) most cultivated

quod nulla barbaria unquam  
(minds), which (name of poet) no barbarous (nation) ever

violavit. Saxa et solitudines respondent voci;  
violated. Rocks and deserts reply to-the-voice

immanes bestię sæpe flectuntur atque  
(of the poet); savage beasts 'are often 'turned aside and

consistunt cantu; nos, instituti optimis rebus,  
stand-still by song; we, formed to-the-best things [we who

non moveamur voce  
have received the best education], 'may not 'we-be-moved by-the-voice

poëtarum? Colophonii dicunt Homerum esse suum  
of the poets? The Colophonians say (that) Homer was their

civem, Chii vindicant suum, Salumnii  
citizen, the Chians claim (him as) their (citizen), the Salumnians

repetunt, Smyrnæi verò confirmant esse  
reclaim (him), the Smyrnians indeed assert (that) he-was

suum, itaque etiam dedicaverunt delubrum  
theirs, (and) therefore also they-have-dedicated a temple

ejus in oppido; permulti alii præterea  
of in (their) town; a-great-many other (places) besides

pugnant atque contendunt inter  
fight and contend among

se.

themselves (for the honour of his birth-place).

9. Ergo expetunt alienum, quia fuit poëta,  
Therefore they-claim a stranger, because he-was a poet

etiam post mortem; nos repudiamus hunc  
even after (his) death; shall we repudiate this (Archias)

vivum, qui est noster, et voluntate et legibus?  
alive, who is ours, both by (his) free will and by (our) laws

præsertim cum olim Archias contulerit omne  
 especially when heretofore Archias contributed all (his)  
 studium atque omne ingenium, ad celebrandum  
 zeal and all (his) talents, to celebrating  
 gloriam que laudem Romani populi? Nam et  
 the glory and praise of-the-Roman people? For also  
 adolescens attigit Cimbricas res,  
 when) a-young-man he-touched-on the Cimbrican affairs, on the wars  
 et fuit jucundus illi C.  
 with the Cimbri], and was agreeable to [was in favour with] that C.  
 Mario ipsi, qui videbatur durior ad hæc  
 Marius himself, who seemed (to be) very-insensible to such  
 studia. Neque enim est quisquam tam aversus a  
 studies. Nor indeed is there any one so averse to  
 Musis qui non facile patiatur eternum præconium  
 the Muses who 'would not readily 'suffer the eternal panegyric  
 suorum laborum mandari versibus. Aiunt  
 of his labours to-be-committed to verse. They-say (that)  
 Themistoclem, illum summum virum Athenis, dixisse,  
 Themistocles, that greatest of men in Athens, had said,  
 cum quæreretur ex eo, quod acroama, aut cujus  
 when it-was-inquired of him, what player, or whose  
 vocem, libentissimè audiret; "ejus a quo  
 voice, 'he-would most-willingly 'hear; "his by whom  
 sua virtus optimè prædicaretur." Itaque  
 his virtue [exploits] 'might-be best 'celebrated." Therefore  
 ille Marius, item eximiè dilexit L. Plotium,  
 this (same) Marius, also greatly loved L. Plotius,  
 cujus ingenio putabat ea, quæ gesserat,  
 'by whose 'talents he thought that, which he-had-performed.  
 posse celebrari. Vero totum Mithridaticum bellum,  
 could-be celebrated. But all the Mithr datic war,  
 magnum atque difficile, et versatum in multâ  
 great and difficult (as it was), and carried-on in much  
 varietate terrâ que mari, expressum est ab  
 diversity (of success) by-land and by-sea, has-been-related by  
 hoc; qui libri illustrant non modo  
 this (Archias); which books (of poetry of his) shed-lustre-on not only

L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum,  
L. Lucullus, (that) most-brave and distinguished man,

verum etiam nomen Romani populi. Enim  
but also (on) the name of-the-Roman people. For

Romanus populus, Lucullo imperante, aperuit Pontum  
the Roman people, Lucullus commanding, 'laid-open Pentus

vallatum quondam, et regiis opibus, et naturâ  
defended hitherto, both by-the-royal resources, and by-the-nature

ipsâ regionis; exercitus Romani populi, eodem  
itself of-the-country; the army of the Roman people, the same

duce, non maximâ manu fudit  
(Lucullus) being general, 'with no 'very large force dispersed

innumerabiles copias Armeiorum; est laus Romani  
countless forces of Armenians; it-is the glory of-the-Roman

populi, amicissimam urbem Cyzicenorum,  
people, (that) the-most-friendly city of-the-Cyziceni,

consilio ejusdem esse ereptam atque  
by the (wise) counsels of this-same (Lucullus) was delivered-from and

servatam ex omni regio impetu, ac ore  
preserved from every royal attack, and from-the-mouth

ac faucibus totius belli;  
and jaws of the whole war [from the perils of a destructive war];

semper feretur et prædicabitur  
(the glory) 'will always be related and celebrated (as peculiarly

nostra, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum classis  
our-own, L. Lucullus fighting (as our general), when the fleet

hostium depressa, ducibus interfectis, et  
of-the-enemy was sunk, the commanders (thereof) being slain, and

illæ incredibilis navalis pugna apud Tenedus;  
that incredible naval battle at Tenedos; (these)

sunt nostra tropæa, nostra monumenta, nostri  
are our trophies, our monuments, our

triumphi. Quare quorum ingeniis  
triumphs. Therefore (I say that those men) 'by whose 'talents

hæc feruntur, ab  
(these things) are-diffused [are spread out among the people], by

eius fama Romani populi celebratur. Noster  
them 'is the glory of-the-Roman people 'celebrated. Our-own

Ennius fuit carus superiori Africano; itaque  
 Ennius was dear to the elder African (Scipio); therefore  
 etiam is putatur esse constitutus e marmore  
 also he is-supposed to-have-been constituted of marble  
 in sepulchro Scipionum.

[to have been sculptured in marble] on the sepulchre of-the-Scipios.

At ejus laudibus certè non solùm ipsi, qui  
 But 'by his 'praises certainly not only those, who  
 laudantur, sed etiam nomen Romani populi  
 are-praised, but also the name of-the-Roman people

ornatur. Cato, proavus hujus  
 is honoured. Cato, the-great-grandfather of this (Cato, here present,)

tollitur in cœlum; magnus honos adjungitur rebus  
 is extolled to the skies; great honour is attached to-the-affairs

Romani populi. Denique, omnes illi Maximi,  
 of-the-Roman people. In-fine, all the Maximi,

Marcelli, Fulvii, decorantur, non sine  
 the Marcelli, (and) the Fulvii, are honoured, not without

communi laude nostrum omnium.  
 the common praise of-us all.

10. Ergo nostri majores receperunt illum,

Therefore our ancestors received him [Ennius],

qui fecerat hæc, hominem  
 who had-done this (who had written on these subjects) a man (of)

Rudinum in civitatem; nos ejiciemus  
 Rudinæ in (their) city (as a citizen); 'shall we 'reject

hunc Heracleensem de nostrâ civitate,  
 this Heracleian [Archias] from our citizenship, (a man)

expetitur multis civitatibus, autem in hac  
 sought by many cities, but in this (our city)

constitutum legibus?  
 constituted (a citizen) 'by (our) 'laws?

Nam si quis putat minorem fructum gloriæ  
 For if any one thinks that a smaller harvest of glory

percipi ex Græcis versibus, quàm ex Latinis,  
 is-to-be-obtained from Greek verses, than from Latin verses,

vehementer errat; propterea quòd Græca leguntur  
 he greatly errs; because that Greek (works) are read

in fere omnibus gentibus, Latina continentur  
 among almost all nations, Latin (works) are confined  
 suis finibus, exiguis sane. Quare  
 to-their-own limits, (and these) small-enough without-doubt. Wherefore  
 si ~~esse~~ res, quas gessimus definiuntur  
 if these things, which we-have-performed are-bounded (only)  
 regionibus orbis terræ, debemus  
 by-the-regions of-the-circle of-the-earth [by the whole world], we-ought  
 cupere, quò tela nostrarum manuum  
 to desire (that), whither the weapons of our hands  
 pervenerint, eodem gloriam que  
 may-have-reached, (that into) the same (place) (our) glory and  
 famam penetrare; quòd cum hæc sunt  
 renown 'should (also) 'penetrate; because while these (things) are  
 ampla ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur,  
 illustrious to those people, of whose affairs it-is-written  
 tum certè, hoc est  
 [whose exploits are the subjects of writing], then certainly, this is  
 maximum incitamentum, et periculorum  
 the greatest incitement (to the encountering), both of dangers  
 et laborum iis, qui dimicant de vitâ, causâ  
 and of labours to those, who fight for life, (and) the cause  
 gloriæ. \* Quam multos scriptores suarum rerum  
 of glory. How many writers of his exploits 'is  
 ille magnus Alexander dicitur habuisse cum se!  
 the great Alexander 'said to-have-had with him!  
 Atque is tamen, cum adstitisset ad tumulum Achillis  
 And he yet, when he-stood at the grave of Achillis  
 in Sigeo inquit, "O fortunate adolescens,  
 on (the promontory of) Sigeum said, "O fortunate young-man,  
 qui inveneris Homerum præconem tuæ virtutis."  
 who may-have-found a Homer the panegyrist of thy fame."  
 Et vere: nam nisi illa Ilias extitisset, idem  
 And truly: for if that Iliad 'had (not) 'existed, the same  
 tumulus, qui contexerat ejus corpus, etiam nomen,  
 grave, which covered his body, even the name  
 obruisset. Quid? nonne hic noster  
 (thereof), would-have-perished. What? 'did not this our-own



Magnus, qui, cum adæquavit fortunam  
 great (Pompey), who, when he-equalled (his) fortune  
 virtute donavit Theophanem  
 'by (his) 'virtue (and valour) grant Theophanes

Mitylenæum, scriptorem suarum rerum civitate  
 the Mitylenæan, the historian of his deeds the-rights-of-citizenship  
 in concione militum? et illi nostri fortes viri, sed  
 in an assembly of-the-soldiers? and those our brave men, but

rustici ac milites commoti quâdam dulcedine gloriæ,  
 rustics and soldiers moved by a certain charm of glory,  
 approbaverunt illud magno clamore, quasi particepes  
 approved it by a great shout, as-if participants

eiusdem laudis? Itaque credo si Archias non  
 of-the-same praise? Therefore I suppose if Archias 'had not  
 esset Romanus civis legibus, ut potuisset non  
 'been a Roman citizen by-the-laws, that 'he-could not

perficere donaretur  
 'have brought (it) to-pass (that) he should-be-presented  
 civitate ab aliquo imperatore!  
 with-the-rights-of-citizenship by some commander (of ours)!

Cum Sulla donaret Hispanos et Gallos,  
 When Sulla granted the Spaniards and the Gauls (the rights of  
 credo repudiasset hunc petentem!  
 citizenship), I suppose he would-have refused him petitioning

quem nos vidimus in  
 (for the citizenship)! whom [Sylla] we (ourselves) have-seen in

concione, cum malus poëta de populo  
 a-public-assembly, when a bad poet from (among) the people  
 subjecisset ei libellum, quòd fecisset epigramma,  
 had presented him a petition, because he-had-made an epigram

in eum, tantummodo alternis longiusculis  
 [a short poem], on him, only in alternate somewhat-longer

versibus, statim  
 verses [in alternate hexameters and pentameters], (that he) immediately

jubere præmium tribui ei, ex iis rebus, quas  
 ordered a present to-be-given to him, of those things, which

tunc vendebat, sub ea conditione,  
 'he-was then 'selling, under that condition, (that)

ne scriberet quid postea. **Qui**  
 ne-should-not write any-thing hereafter. (Would not he), who  
 iuxerit sedulitatem mali poëtæ, tamen dignam  
 had-thought the industry of-a-bad poet, yet worthy (of)  
 aliquo præmio, expetisset ingenium et  
 some reward, have-sought-out (to honour) the talents and  
 virtutem et copiam in scribendo hujus? **Quid**  
 ability and copiousness in writing of this (Archias)? What

neque impetravisset a suo  
 could-he neither 'have-obtained (the freedom of the city) from his  
 familiarissimo **Q. Metello Pio, qui donavit**  
 most intimate (friend) Q. Metello Pius, who had-granted

multos civitate, neque per se  
 many the-rights-of-citizenship, neither by himself [by his own request]  
 neque per Lucullos? qui præsertim usque  
 nor by Luculli? who [Metellus] especially so

ed cuperet scribi de suis rebus,  
 greatly desired to-be-written-on concerning his affairs, [to have his  
 ut etiam dederet suas aures  
 deeds commemorated] that 'he also gave his ears [attention]

poëtis natis Cordubæ, sonantibus quiddam  
 to poets born at Cordova, (though) uttering something  
 pingue atque peregrinum.  
 dull and barbarous.

11. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod  
 Nor indeed is that to-be-dissembled, which  
 potest non obscurari; sed ferendum præ nobis;  
 can not be-concealed; but is-to-be-brought before us

omnes trahimur studio  
 [but must be openly avowed] (that) 'we all 'are-drawn-on by-a-desire  
 laudis, et quisque optimus ducitur  
 of praise, and each best (person) [the best of us] 'is led

maximè gloriâ. Philosophi ipsi, etiam illis  
 chiefly by-glory. Philosophers themselves, also in-these  
 libellis, quos scribunt de gloriâ contemnendâ,  
 books, which they-write about glory to-be-despised,

inscribunt suum nomen;  
 on the contempt of glory] inscribe their names (in the books);

in eo ipso, in quo despiciunt prædicationem que  
 in the same (case) in which they-despise praise and  
 nobilitatem volunt prædicari de se, ac se  
 renown they-wish to be mentioned themselves, and themselves  
 nominari. Quidem

named. [They desire to become notorious, and to be talked of]. Indeed

Decimus Brutus, ille summus vir et imperator,  
 Decimus Brutus, that great man and commander,

exornavit aditus suorum templorum ac  
 adorned the approaches of his temples and

monumentorum carminibus Attii sui amicissimi.  
 monuments with-the-verses of Attius his most-intimate-friend.

Jam vero, ille Fulvius, qui bellavit cum Ætolis,  
 (And) even also, that Fulvius, who fought with the Ætolians,

Ennio comite, non dubitavit consecrare  
 Ennius being (his) companion, 'did not 'hesitate to-consecrate

manubias Martis Musis. Quare imperatores,  
 the spoils of-Mars to-the-Muses. Wherefore (when) generals,

in quâ urbe propè armati,  
 in any city nearly armed, [almost with arms in their hands],

coluerunt nomen poëtarum, et delubra Musarum,  
 revered the name of poets, and the temples of-the-Muses,

in eâ togati judices debent non abhorrere a  
 in this (city) civil judges ought not to-be-averse to the

honore Musarum et a salute poëtarum.  
 honour of-the-Muses and to the safety of-poets.

Atque, ut faciatis id libentius, jam  
 And, that you-may-do that the-more-willingly, 'I will now

judices, indicabo me vobis, et  
 O judges, 'declare myself to you [reveal my feelings to you], and

confitebor vobis quodam de meo amore gloriae,  
 I-will-confess to you something concerning my love of glory,

fortasse nimis acri, verumtamen honesto. Nam hic  
 perhaps too eager, but-yet honourable. For this

attigit atque inchoavit versibus  
 (Archias) touched-on and has-begun (to celebrate) 'in (his) 'verse

res, quas nos gessimus in nostro consulatu,  
 the deeds, which we have-performed in our consulship.

simul cum vobis, pro salute hujus urbis, atque  
 together with you, for the safety of this city, and  
 imperii, et pro vitâ civium, que pro universâ  
 the empire, and for the life of the-citizens, and for the entire  
 republica; quibus auditis, quòd visa est mihi -  
 republic; which (verses) being heard, because it appeared to me  
 magna et jucunda res, hortatus sum hunc ad -  
 a great and agreeable subject, I encouraged him to  
 perficiendum. Enim virtus desiderat nullam aliam -  
 complete (it). For virtue desires no other  
 mercedem laborum que periculorum, præter hanc -  
 reward of labours and dangers, except that  
 laudis et gloriæ; quâ quidem iudices detractâ, -  
 of praise and renown; which indeed O judges being-taken-away,  
 quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo, et tam brevi  
 what is there, that in this so small, and so short  
 curriculo vitæ, exerceamus nos in tantis  
 a course of life, (that) we-should-exert ourselves in such  
 laboribus? Certe si animus præsentiret nihil in  
 labours? Certainly if the mind did-forebode nothing as respects  
 posterum, et si regionibus, quibus spatium vitæ est  
 the future, and if in-the-limits, in which the space of life is  
 circumscriptum, terminaret omnes suas cogitationes  
 circumscribed, it-should-bound all its thoughts  
 iisdem, nec frangeret se tantis  
 by-the-same, 'it would not break itself (down) by-such-great  
 laboribus, neque angeretur tot curis que  
 labours, neither would-it-be-tormented with-so-many cares and  
 vigiliis, neque toties dimicaret de vitâ ipsâ.  
 watchings, nor so-often would-it-contend for life itself  
 Nunc quædam virtus insidet in quoque optimo, quæ  
 Now a certain virtus resides in every good-man, which  
 concitat animum noctes et dies stimulis gloriæ,  
 excites the mind night and day by-the-stimulus of glory,  
 atque admonet, commemorationem nostri  
 and reminds (it), (that) the remembrance of our  
 nominis esse non dimittendam cum tempore  
 name is not to-be-sent-away with the time of (our)

vitæ, sed adæquandam  
 life, [our name will not perish with our life], but is-to-be-made-equa  
 cum omni posteritate.  
 with all posterity. [Will be transmitted to the latest posterity.]

12. An vero omnes videamur esse tam parvi  
 'Do-we then indeed all 'appear to be 'of such 'little  
 animi, qui versamur in republica,  
 mind, [sc narrow minded,] who are occupied in the republic, [with  
 atque in his periculis que laboribus vitæ,  
 affairs of state,] and in these dangers and labours of life,  
 ut cum usque ad extremum spatium duxerimus  
 that when even to the extreme space (of life) we-have-drawn  
 nullum tranquillum atque otiosum spiritum,  
 no tranquil and peaceful breath, (that)  
 arbitremur omnia moritura simul cum nobis?  
 we-should-think all things are-to-perish together with us?

An, cum multi summi homines studiosè  
 And-whether, when many great men 'have carefully  
 reliquerint statuas et imagines simulacra non  
 left-behind statues and images representations not  
 animorum, sed corporum, debemus non multò  
 of-the-mind, but of-the-body, 'ought not 'we much-more  
 malle relinquere effigiem nostrarum virtutum  
 to-prefer to-leave-behind (us) the effigy of our virtues  
 ac consiliorum expressam et politam  
 and 'of (our) deliberations expressed and elaborated  
 summis ingeniis? Ego vero arbitrabar, omnia,  
 by-the-greatest geniuses? I indeed thought, (that) all,  
 quæ gerebam, jam tum in gerendo,  
 which I-was-performing, already then in performing (them), (that)  
 me spargere ac disseminare in sempiternam  
 I was scattering and disseminating (them) for the eternal  
 memoriam orbis terræ.  
 recollection of the circle of-the-earth. [To be perpetually remembered

Sive hæc vero  
 shrougthout the whole world.] Whether this (remembrance) indeed  
 abfutura est a meo sensu post mortem, sive, ut  
 will-be-absent from my perception after death, or, as



sapientissimi homines putaverunt, pertinebit ad  
the-most-wise men have-thought, it-will-appertain to

aliquam partem mei. Nunc certe quidem delector  
some portion of myself. Now truly indeed I am delighted

quâdam cogitatione que spe.  
with-some-such thought and hope.

Quare, judices, conservate hominem eo pudore,  
Wherefore, O judges, preserve a man (of) such modesty

quem videtis comprobari  
(In his merit as Archias), which (merit) you-see approved

tum dignitate amicorum, tum etiam  
as-well by-the-dignity [high rank] 'of his 'friends, as also

vetustate; autém ingenio  
by-the-long-continuance (of their friendship); but (his) talent

tanto quantum convenit existimare id, quod  
being as great as it-may-be-accorded to appreciate it, which

videatis esse expetitur ingeniis summorum  
you-may-see, to-have-been sought by-the-talents of-the-greatest

hominum;  
men; [his talents were highly estimated by illustrious men of the greatest

causa vero ejusmodi, quæ  
talents themselves,] (his) cause indeed (is one) of this kind, which

comprobetur beneficio legis, auctoritate  
may-be-established by-the-benefit of-the-law, by-the-authority

municipii, testimonio Luculli, tabulis  
of (his) 'municipality by-the-testimony of-Lucullus, (and) by-the-registers

Metelli. Quæ cum sint ita,  
of Metellus. Which (things) when they-may-be so, [which being so,]

petimus a vobis, judices, si debet esse qua  
we-entreat of you, O judges, if there should be any

commendatio non modo humana, verum etiam divina  
commendation not only human, but also divine

in tantis negotiis, ut accipiatis eum sic in  
in such-great affairs, that you-would-receive him so in

vestram fidem, ut videatur esse levatus  
your faith, [protection,] that he-may-seem to be relieved

vestrâ humanitate, potius quàm violatus  
by-your kin-ness, rather than injured by (your)

acerbitate, qui semper ornavit vos, qui  
severity, (he) who 'has always 'adorned you, who (has celebrated)

vestros imperatores, qui res  
your commanders, who has (commemorated) the-things

gestas Romani populi, qui etiam proficitur  
performed [the exploits] of-the-Roman people, who also promised

se esse daturum æternum testimonium laudum,  
(that) he is to give an eternal testimony of praised,

his nostris recentibus, que vestris domesticis  
in-these our recent, and your domestic

periculis, que qui est eo numero, qui  
dangers, and who is in that number, (of poets), who 'have

semper sunt habiti atque dicti sancti apud omnes.  
always 'been-held and called holy among all (nations).

Quæ de causâ dixi pro meâ  
Which (things) in relation (to) the cause I-have-related according to my

consuetudine, judices, breviter que simpliciter, confido  
custom, O judges, briefly and simply, (and) I trust

ea probata esse omnibus, quæ  
(that) those (things) have-been-approved by all (of you), which

locutus sum non consuetudine fori, neque judiciali,  
I-have-spoken not in accordance with-the-bar, nor judicial

et de ingenio hominis, et communiter  
(practice), both concerning the talents of-the-man, and in-general

de ipsius studio, ea, judices, spero esse  
respecting his studies, these (things), O judges, I-hope to-have-been

accepta in bonam partem; certe scio  
received in good part; 'I certainly 'know (they) (will be)

ab eo, qui exercet judicium.

by him, who exercises judicature. [Who presides at this trial.]

ORATIO  
 THE ORATION  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
 OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,  
 PRO  
 FOR  
 M. MARCELLO.  
 M. MARCELLUS.



1. HODIERNUS dies, conscripti patres, attulit  
 This day, conscript fathers, has-brought  
 finem diuturni silentii, quo  
 an end [has made an end] 'of (my) 'long silence, in which  
 his temporibus eram usus, non  
 in these times I-have-made-use-of, [have indulged in,] not  
 aliquo timore, sed partim dolore, partim  
 from-any fear, but partly from-sorrow, partly  
 veracundiâ; que idem initium dicendi,  
 from-modesty; and at-the-same-time the commencement of saying,  
 meo pristino more, quæ vellem, que quæ sentirem.  
 in-my ancient manner, what I-might-wish, and what I-might-think  
 Enim nullo modo possum præterire tacitus  
 (on affairs). For in-no wise can-I pass-over silent  
 tantam masuetudinem, tam inusitatam que inauditam  
 such-great humanity, such unusual and unheard-of  
 clementiam, tantum modum omnium rerum, in  
 elemency, such-great moderation (in) all things, in  
 summâ potestate, denique,  
 the highest power, [when possessed of unlimited power,] in-fine,  
 tam incredibilem ac pæne divinam sapientiam. Enim  
 such incredible and nearly divine wisdom. For

M. Marcello reddito, conscripti patres, vobis que  
 M. Marcellus being-restored, O conscript fathers, to you and  
 reipublicæ, puto non solum illius vocem et  
 to-the-republic, I-think (that) not only his voice and  
 auctoritatem, sed etiam meam conservatam ac  
 authority, but also mine is preserved and  
 restitutam, et vobis et reipublicæ.  
 restored, both to-you and to-the-republic.

Enim dolebam, conscripti patres, et vehementer  
 For I grieved, O conscript fathers, and 'was vehemently  
 angebar, cum viderem talem virum, in eâdem  
 'distressed, when I-saw such a man, (who was) in the same  
 causâ, in quâ ego fuisset, non esse in eâdem  
 cause, in-which I had-been, not to-be in the same  
 fortunâ:

nec poteram  
 fortune: [not enjoying the same good fortune with myself,] nor could-I

persuadere mihi, nec ducebam esse fas  
 persuade myself, nor did-I-think that it was right (that)

me versari in nostro veteri curriculo, illo æmulo  
 I should-be-engaged in our old career, he the rival

atque imitatore meorum studiorum ac laborum  
 and imitator of-my studies and labours (and)

quasi quodam socio et comite distracto a me  
 as-it-were an associate and companion being-torn from me.

Et ergo, C. Cæsar, aperuisti mihi consuetudinem  
 And therefore, O C. Cæsar, you-have-opened to-me the habits

meæ pristinæ vitæ, interclusam et  
 of-my former life, (which) were-closed-on (me), and

sustulisti quasi aliquod signum omnibus his  
 you-have-raised as (it were) a standard for-all those

ad sperandum benè de omni republica.  
 (here present) to hope well concerning the entire republic

Enim intellectum est mihi, in multis, et  
 For it-was-made-apparent to me, in many (instances), and

maxime in me ipso, sed paulo antè omnibus,  
 principally in my myself, (and) but a little before (now) to all

cum concessisti M. Marcellum senatui  
 (here present), when you-granted M. Marcellus to-the-senate

que Romano populo, præsertim commemoratis  
 and to-the-Roman people, especially (after) having-made-mention  
 offensionibus, te anteferre auctoritatem hujus  
 (of his) offences, (that) you would-prefer the authority of this  
 ordinis, que dignitatem reipublicæ, vel tuis  
 order, [the senate] and the dignity of-the-republic, either to-you  
 doloribus vel suspicionibus.  
 resentments or suspicions.

Ille quidem hodierno die cepit maximum  
 He (Marcellus) indeed to-day received the greatest  
 fructum omnis anteactæ vitæ, cum summo  
 reward of all (his) past life, as-well by-the-unanimous  
 consensu senatûs, tum præterea tuo gravissimo  
 consent of the senate, as moreover in your [Cæsar's] most-solemn  
 et maximo judicio. Ex quo profectò intelligis,  
 and supreme judgment. From this indeed you (may)  
 quanta sit laus in beneficio  
 understand, how-great is the renown (to you) in (this) benefit  
 dato, cum sit tanta  
 conferred, [by granting Marcellus this kindness] when there is so-much  
 gloria in accepto. Ille vero est fortunatus,  
 glory (to him) in receiving (it). He indeed is fortunate,  
 ex salute cuius non pæne minor lætitiæ  
 from the safety of whom not scarcely less joy  
 pervenerit ad omnes, quàm ventura sit ad ipsum.  
 will accrue to all, than may arrive to himself.

Quod quidem  
 [Than he himself may feel, when he hears it.] Which (favour) indeed  
 contigit ei meritò, atque optimo jure. Enim  
 has-happened to-him deservedly, and with-the-best right. For  
 quis est præstantior illo aut nobilitate,  
 who is more-excellent (than) he either in nobility (of birth),  
 aut probitate, aut studio optimarum  
 or probity, or the zealous (cultivation) of-the-most-liberal  
 artium, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere  
 arts, or in parity-of-life, or in any kind  
 laudis.  
 of-praiseworthy-actions.



2. *Tantum flumen ingenii est nullius,*

Such a stream of genius is of-no-one, [no one possesses  
 tanta vis tanta copia dicendi  
 such a flow of genius,] such power and such copiousness of-speaking  
 aut scribendi nullius, quæ, non dicam  
 or of-writing (has) no-one, which, 'I-will not 'say  
 exornare, sed C. Cæsar possit  
 to-embellish, but (even) O C. Cæsar (that) he-might-be-able  
 enarrare tuas res gestas. Tamen affirmo (et tua  
 to-relate your exploits. However I assert (and with your  
 pace dicam hoc,) nullam laudem esse  
 permission I-will-say this,) (that) no renown is  
 ampliore in his, quam eam, quam  
 more-glorious in these (exploits) than that, which  
 consecutus es hodierno die. Soleo sæpe ponere  
 you-have-acquired this day. I-am-accustomed often to place  
 ante oculos, que libenter usurpare id  
 (this) before (my) eyes, and willingly to-maintain it  
 crebris sermonibus, omnes res gestas nostrorum  
 in frequent conversations, (that) all the deeds of-our  
 imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, que  
 commanders, all (those) of foreign nations, and  
 potentissimorum populorum, omnes clarissimorum  
 of-the-most-powerful people, all (those) of-the-most-celebrated  
 regum, posse conferri cum tuis, nec magnitudine  
 kings, can-be-compared with yours, neither in-the-greatness  
 contentionum, nec numero præliorum, nec varietate  
 of-the-contests, nor in-the-number of-the-battles, nor in-the-variety  
 regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec  
 of-the-countries, nor in-the-celerity of-performing, nor  
 dissimilitudine bellorum; nec vero  
 in-the-diversity (of character) of-the-wars; nor indeed (that)  
 disjunctissimas terras potuisse peragrarî  
 the-most-widely-separated countries could-have been-travelled-over  
 citius passibus cujusquam, quam, non  
 more-rapidly by-the-footsteps of-any-one, than, 'I-will not

dicam, lustratæ sint cursibus, sed  
 'say, may-have-been-passed-through by-(your)-marches, but  
 victoriis.  
 by-(your)-victories.

Quæ quidem nisi ego fatear esse  
 Which (things) indeed unless I should confess (that) they-are  
 ita magna, ut vix mens aut cogitatio cujusquam  
 so great, that scarcely the mind or imagination of-any-one  
 possit capere ea, si amens; sed tamen  
 could comprehend them, I-would-be devoid-of-reason; but yet  
 sunt alia majora. Nam quidam solent  
 there-are other (things) greater. For some are-accustomed  
 extenuare verbis bellicas laudes, que  
 to-depreciate by (their) words [by their remarks] military praises, and  
 detrahere eas ducibus, communicare  
 to-detract those (praises) from-the-generals, (and) to share (them  
 cum multis, ne sint  
 with the many, [with the soldiers,] (so that) they 'may not 'be  
 propriæ imperatorum. Et certe, in armis  
 the peculiar (right) of-the-commanders. And certainly, in military-affairs  
 virtus militum, opportunitas locorum,  
 the bravery of-the-soldiers, the opportunity of-the-places, [advantage of  
 auxilia sociorum, classes commeatus juvant  
 position,] the assistance of allies, fleets (and) supplies help  
 multum; vero Fortuna vindicat sibi maximam  
 much; but Fortune claims for herself (in war) the greatest  
 partem, quasi suo jure; et quidquid  
 part (of success), as her-own right; and whatever  
 est gestum prosperè, ducit id pæne omne  
 has-been-done successfully, she-considers it almost all  
 suum.  
 er-own (work).

At vero, C. Caesar, habes neminem socium hujus  
 But truly, O C. Caesar, you-have no-one (as) a partner of this  
 gloriæ, quam es adeptus paulo antè. Totum  
 glory, which you-have-obtained a little before. [Just now.] All  
 hoc, quantumcunque est, (quod certe maximum),  
 this, how-(great)-soever it is, (and which certainly (is) very great),

est totum, inquam, tuum. Centurio decerpit nihil ex  
 is all, I-say, yours. The centurion plucks nothing from  
 ista laude sibi, præfectus nihil, cohors  
 this renown for himself, the prefect (of cavalry) nothing, the cohort  
 nihil, turma nihil. Quin etiam  
 (of infantry) nothing, the troop (of cavalry) nothing. Nay even  
 Fortuna, illa ipsa domina humanarum rerum, non  
 Fortune, that same mistress of-human affairs, does not  
 offert se in societatem istius gloriæ,  
 present herself in the society of-this glory (as a participant thereof),  
 cedit tibi; fatetur esse totam et propriam  
 she cedes (all) to you; she confesses (that) it is all and peculiarly  
 tuam. Enim nunquam temeritas commiscetur cum  
 yours. For never 'is rashness 'mingled with  
 sapientiâ, nec casus admittitur ad consilium.  
 wisdom, nor 'is chance 'admitted to the-counsels (of prudence).

3. Domuisti gentes barbaras immanitate,  
 You-have-conquered nations barbarous 'by (their) 'ferocity,  
 innumerabiles multitudine, infinitas locis,  
 countless 'in (their) 'numbers, immense (as respects) space,  
 abundantes omni genere copiarum; sed tamen  
 abounding in all kinds of-resources; but yet  
 vicisti ea, quæ habebant naturam et  
 you-conquered those (things), which had the nature and  
 conditionem, ut possent vinci; enim est  
 condition, that they-might be-conquered; for there-is  
 nulla vis tanta, quæ possit non debilitari quæ  
 no strength so-great, which may not be-weakened and  
 frangi ferro ac viribus. Vincere animum, cohibere  
 broken by-arms and force. To-conquer the mind, to-repress  
 iracundiam, temporare victoriam, non modo extollere  
 anger, to-temper victory, not only to-raise-up  
 jacentem adversarium præstantem nobilitate, ingenio  
 a prostrate foe excelling in-noble-birth, talents  
 virtute, sed etiam amplificare ejus pristinam  
 (and) virtue, but also to-enlarge his former  
 dignitatem. qui faciat hæc, ego non compare eum  
 dignity; who does this, I 'do not 'compare him

*cum summis viris, sed iudico simillimum*  
 with the-most-illustrious men, but think (him as) most

*Deo.*

like to God.

*Itaque, C. Cæsar, illæ tuæ bellicæ laudes*  
 Therefore, O C. Cæsar, these your warlike praises

*celebrabuntur quidem non solum nostris literis atque*  
 will-be-celebrated indeed not only in-our literature and

*linguis, sed pæne omnium gentium; neque*  
 language, but (in that) 'of almost 'all nations; nor

*unquam ulla ætas conticescet de tuis laudibus. Sed*  
 'will ever any age 'be-silent about your praise. But

*tamen res ejusmodi, nescio quomodo, etiam cum*  
 yet things of-this-kind, I-know-not how, even when

*leguntur, videntur obstrepi clamore*  
 they-are-read, appear to-be-overpowered (in noise) by-the-shout

*militum, et sono tubarum. At vero, cum*  
 of-the-soldiers, and by-the-sound of-the-trumpet. But indeed, when

*aut audimus, aut legimus aliquid factum*  
 either we-hear, or read (that) something has-been-done

*clementer, mansuete, juste, moderate, sapienter,*  
 elemently, humanely, justly, moderately (and) wisely,

*(præsertim in iracundiâ, quæ est inimica*  
 (especially in anger, which is inimical 'to (prudent)

*consilio, et in victoriâ, quæ naturâ est insolens et*  
 'counsel, and in victory, which by nature is insolent and

*superba); quo studio incendimur, non modo in*  
 haughty); with what ardour are-we-inflamed, not only in

*res gestas, sed etiam in fictis, ut*  
 things (actually) performed, but even in fictitious (things), that

*sæpe diligamus eos, quos nunquam vidimus!*  
 often we-love those, whom 'we-have never 'seen!

*Vero te, quem intuemur præsentem, cujus*  
 But you, whom we-behold (here) present, whose

*mentem que sensus cernimus eos, ut*  
 mind and feelings we-perceive them (to be such), that

*quidquid fortuna belli reliquum fecerit reipublicæ,*  
 all-that the fortune of war may-have-left to-the-republic,

velis id esse saluum, quibus  
 you-wish that to-be safe (and secured to the republic), with-what  
 laudibus efferemus? quibus studiis prosequemur?  
 praises shall-we-extol (you)? with-what zeal shall-we-follow

quâ benevolentîâ complectemur?  
 (you)? with-what affection shall-we-embrace (you)?

Parietes hujus curiæ, me dius fidius  
 The (very) walls of this senate-house, may Jupiter help me [most as-

(ut videntur mihi) gestiunt agere gratias tibi,  
 surely] (as they seem to me) exult to return thanks to you,

quod brevi tempore illa auctoritas  
 because in-a-short time that authority (of the senate)

futura sit, in et his suis  
 will-hereafter-be, [will be restored] in both these their [the senators']

sedibus suorum majorum.  
 seats, (and that) of their ancestors.

#### 4. Equidem cum viderem modo cum vobis

Indeed when I saw just-now with you [senators]

lacrymas C. Marcelli, optimi viri, et præditi  
 the tears of C. Marcellus, a most-excellent man, and endowed

commemorabili pietate, memoria omnium  
 with-recommendable affection (for his brother), the recollection of all

Marcellorum obfudit meum pectus. M. Marcello  
 the Marcelli gushed over my heart. M. Marcello

conservato, tu reddidisti suam dignitatem etiam  
 being-preserved, you [Cæsar] have restored their dignity even

quibus mortuis; que vindicâsti  
 (to those Marcelli) who are-dead; and you-have-saved

nobilissimam familiam, jam redactam ad paucos  
 a-most-noble family, now reduced to few

pæne ab interitu. Tu igitur jure  
 (in number) nearly from perishing. You therefore with-right

antepones hunc diem tuis maximis et innumerabilibus  
 will-prefer this day to your greatest and countless

gratulationibus. Enim hæc res est propria  
 congratulations. For this affair is the peculiar (right)

Cæsaris unius; ceteræ gestæ, te duce,  
 of Cæsar alone other deeds, you being the general, (though)



illæ magnæ quidem, sed tamen  
 they (were) great indeed, but yet (were performed)

multo que magno comitatu. Autem tu  
 with a numerous and great train (of associates). But you

es idem et dux et comes hujus rei;  
 are at-the-same-time both general and associate of this affair

quæ quidem est tanta, ut  
 (of pardoning Marcellus); which indeed is so-great, that (though)  
 ætas allatura sit finem tuis tropæis que monumentis,  
 age may-bring an end to your trophies and monuments,

(enim est nihil factum opere aut manu  
 (for (there) is nothing made by labour or by the hand (of man)

quod aliquando vetustas non conficiat  
 which some-time-or-another length-of-time 'may not 'dissipate

et consumat); at vero hæc tua justitia et lenitas  
 and consume); but yet-indeed this your justice and lenity

animi quotidie florescet magis, ita ut  
 of mind 'will every day 'become more 'celebrated, so that

quantum diuturnitas detrahet tuis operibus,  
 as much as-length-of-time will-detract from your deeds,

tantum afferat laudibus. Et quidem  
 so-much may-it-add (to your) glory. And indeed

viceras omnes ceteros victores civilium  
 as-you-may-have-surpassed all other conquerers (in) the civil

bellorum jam ante æquitate et  
 wars now before [that have happened before now] in equity and

misericiordiæ, vero hodierno die vicisti te ipsum  
 mercy, but this day you-have-surpassed yourself.

Vereor, ne hoc, quod dicam, possit non perinde  
 I-fear, lest that, which I-say, may not equally-as-well

intelligi auditu,  
 be understood by the hearing, [by those only hearing it mentioned],

atque ipse sentio cogitans. Videris  
 as I-myself feel (it, when) reflecting (thereon). You-appear

vicisse victoriam ipsam, cum remisisti  
 to-have-conquered victory herself, when you-have-remitted

victis ea, quæ illa erat adeptæ.  
 so-the-conquered those things, which she had obtained (for you).

Nam cum conditione victoriæ ipsius omnes  
 For when by-the-conditions of victory self 'we all (who were)  
 victi jure occidissemus,  
 conquered 'might by right 'have-fallen (by the sword, or been ruined  
 sumus conservati judicio tue  
 in our estates), we-have-been-preserved by-the-judgment of your  
 elementię. Recte igitur unus  
 clemency. [By your merciful decision.] Rightly therefore (you) alone  
 es invictus, a quo etiam conditio que vis victorię  
 are unconquered, by whom even the conditions and power of victory  
 ipsius devicta est.  
 self have-been-conquered.

6. Atque conscripti patres, attendite quā late  
 And O-conscript fathers, observe how far  
 hoc judicium C. Cęsarıs pateat; enim omnes,  
 this decision of-C. Cęsar may extend; for all, 'we,  
 qui sumus compulsi ad illa arma,  
 who 'were compelled 'to that (civil) war (to take up arms),  
 nescio quo misero que funesto fato  
 I-know-not by-what miserable and fatal destiny  
 reipublicę, etsi tenemur aliquā culpā humani  
 of-the-republic, although we-are-charged with some fault of-human  
 erroria, certe liberati sumus a scelere. Nam,  
 error, 'we certainly 'are liberated from crime. For,  
 cum, vobis deprecantibus, sconservavit M. Marcellum  
 when, you entreating, he preserved M. Marcellus  
 reipublicę; reddidit memet mihi, et iterum  
 to-the republic (also); he restored me to-myself, and once-more  
 reipublicę, nullo deprecante,  
 to-the-republic, no-one entreating (for me), (he also restored)  
 reliquos amplissimos viros et sibi ipsis et  
 these-other illustrious men both to themselves and 'to (their)  
 patrię; quorum et frequentiam et dignitatem  
 'country; whose both numerous-concourse and dignity  
 videtis in hoc ipsa consessu. Ille non induxit  
 you see in this same assembly. He 'has not 'brought (any)  
 hostes in curiam; sed judicavit,  
 enemies into the-senate-house (by this); but he-has-decided (that),

bellum esse susceptum a plerisque potius  
the war was undertaken by the-most (of them) rather

ignoratione et falso atque  
from-want-of-knowledge (of his real intentions) and from a false and

inani metu, quàm cupiditate aut crudelitate.  
groundless fear (of him), than from cupidity or from-the-cruelty

In quo bello quidem semper putavi  
(of revenge). In which war indeed 'I always 'have-thought

de pace audiendum, que semper  
(that proposals) respecting peace ought-to-be-listened-to, and 'I always

dolui non modo pacem, sed orationem etiam  
grieved (that) not only peace, but the entreaties even

civium flagitantium pacem repudiari. Enim ego  
of citizens earnestly-begging (for) peace should-be-rejected. For I

unquam secutus sum neque illa, nec ulla  
never followed [took a part in] either (in) these, or any

civilia arma; que semper mea consilia fuerunt socia  
civil war; and always my counsels were-associated

pacis et togæ, non  
(with) peace and the-gown, [civil affairs and pursuits,] not (with)

belli atque armorum. Secutus sum hominem  
war and arms. I-followed the man [Pompey]

privato officio, non publico; que  
from (a sense of) private duty, not public; and

tantum fidelis memoria grati animi valuit  
so-great 'did the faithful remembrance of a grateful mind 'prevail

apud me, ut non modo nullâ cupiditate,  
over me, that (there was) not only (through) no desire

sed quidem ne spe, prudens  
(of advantage), but indeed not (even through) hope, prudent

t sciens ruerem ad voluntarium interitum.  
nd knowing I-rushed-on to voluntary destruction.

Quòd quidem meum consilium fuit

And indeed my views were (on this subject) (not)

minime obscurum. Nam et in hoc ordine,  
in-the-least dissembled. For also in this order (of the senate),

rê intégrâ, dixi multa  
the thing being entire, [the war not having yet broken out], I-said much

de pace; et in bello ipso sensi eadem,  
 concerning peace; and in the war itself 'I-was-of the same 'opinion.  
 etiam cum periculo mei capitis. Ex quo nemo  
 even with the-risk of-my life. From which no-one  
 erit jam tam injustus existimator rerum, qui  
 'would now 'be so unjust a judge of-things, who  
 dubitet, quæ fuerit Cæsaris voluntas de  
 might doubt, what may-have-been Cæsar's intentions respecting  
 bello, cum statim censuerit auctores pacis  
 the war when 'he immediately 'thought (that) the advisers of peace  
 conservandos, ceteris fuit iratior.  
 ought-to-be-preserved, (but) with-the-others he-was more-irritated.  
 Atque fortasse id minus mirum tum, cum exitus  
 And perhaps it (was) less strange then, when the-result  
 esset incertus, et fortuna belli anceps; vero  
 might-be uncertain, and the fortune of-war doubtful; but (he)  
 qui, victor, diligit auctores pacis, is profecto  
 who, a conqueror, loves the advisers of peace, he certainly  
 declarat se maluisse non dimicare, quàm  
 declares (that) he would-rather not have-fought, than  
 vincere.

have conquered. [That he would always have preferred peace to civil war.]

6. Atque sum quidem testis hujus rei  
 And I am indeed a witness (as respects) this thing  
 M. Marcello. Enim nostri sensus, ut semper  
 for M. Marcellus. For our opinions, as 'they always  
 congruebant in pace, sic etiam tum in bello. Quoties  
 'agreed in peace, so even when in war. How-often  
 ego vidi eum, et cum quanto dolore,  
 'have I 'seen him, and with what great grief,  
 extimescentem cum insolentiam certorum hominum,  
 dreading as-well the insolence of certain men  
 tum etiam ferocitatem victoriæ ipsius! Quò,  
 as also the ferocity of victory self! Wherefore,  
 C. Cæsar, tua liberalitas debet esse gratior  
 O C. Cæsar, your liberality ought to be the-more-agreeable  
 nobis, qui vidimus illa. Enim jam  
 to us, who have-seen those (things). For now

## CAUSÆ

the causes (of the two parties, namely, that of Pompey and Cæsar, 'are  
 non sunt comparandæ inter se, sed  
 not 'to-be-compared (or discussed) among themselves, but  
 vitoriæ. Vidimus

(the use that would be made) of victory (by each, may be). We have seen  
 tuam victoriam terminatam exitu præliorum;  
 your victory terminated with-the-result 'of (your) 'battles;

non vidimus gladium vacuum vaginâ, in urbe.  
 'we-have not 'seen the sword unsheathed, in the city.

Cives, quos amisimus, vis Martis perculit eos  
 The citizens, whom we-have-lost, the force of Mars 'struck them

non irâ vitoriæ; ut nemo  
 'down [they fell in battle] not by-the-fury of victory; so-that no-one

debeat dubitare quin C. Cæsar, si posset fieri,  
 ought to doubt but-that C. Cæsar, if it-could-have been-done,

excitaret multos ab inferis; quoniam conservat  
 would-have-raised many from the dead; since he-preserves

ex eâdem acie quos potest. Vero  
 from that-same army (of Pompey) (those) whom he-can. But

alterius partis, dicam nihil amplius,  
 (as respects) the other party (of Pompey), I-will-say nothing more,

quàm (id quod omnes verebamur) victoriam  
 than (that which 'we all 'feared) (that) victory

futuram fuisse nimis iracundam. Enim quidam  
 would-have-been too revengeful. For some

minabantur non modo armatis, sed  
 threatened not only (their) armed (opponents), but

interdum etiam otiosis;  
 sometimes also (those who were) quiet, (and took no part in the

dicebant cogitandum esse, nec quid  
 contest); they-said (that) it-was-to-be-considered, not what

quisque sensisset, sed ubi fuisset; ut quidem  
 each-one might-think, but where he-had-been; that indeed

immortales Dii videantur mihi (etiâmsi expetiverint  
 the immortal Gods seem to me (even-though they-may-have

pœnas a Romano populo, ob aliquod  
 inflicted punishment on the Roman people, on-account-of some



delictum, qui excitaverint tantum et tam luctuosum  
 offence, who stirred-up so-great and so mournful a  
 civile bellum) vel jam placati, vel aliquando  
 civil war) 'are either now 'appeased, or at-length  
 satiati, contulisse omnem spem salutis  
 satiated, (and that) they-have-brought all (our) hope of safety  
 ad clementiam et sapientiam victoris.  
 to (depend on) the clemency and wisdom of-the-conqueror.

Quare gaude isto tuo tam excellenti bono;  
 Wherefore rejoice in-this your so excellent a privilege;  
 et fruire cum fortunâ et gloriâ, tum etiam  
 and enjoy as well (your) fortune and glory, as also (your)  
 naturâ, et tuis moribus; ex quo quidem  
 kind-disposition, and your amiable-manners; from which indeed  
 est maximus fructus que jucunditas sapienti.  
 there is the greatest fruit and pleasure to-the-wise-man.

Cum recordabere tua cetera,  
 When you-call-to-your-recollection your other (actions of life),  
 etsi persæpe congratulabere virtuti,  
 although you 'will very-often 'congratulate (yourself on your) valour,  
 tamen plerumque tuæ felicitati.  
 yet often (you will have to thank) your good-fortune.

Quoties cogitabis de nobis, quos voluisti esse  
 As-often-as you-shall-think of us, whom you-have-wished to be  
 salvos in republicâ simul cum te, toties  
 safe in the republic together with yourself, so-often  
 cogitabis de tuis maximis beneficiis,  
 you-will-think of your very-great favours (bestowed on us).

toties de incredibili liberalitate, toties  
 so-often-will-you-think of (your) incredible liberality, so-often  
 de tua singulari sapientiâ; quæ audebo dicere  
 of your unexampled wisdom; which I-will-venture to say (are)  
 non modo summa bona, sed nimirum vel  
 not only (your) greatest goods, but certainly even (your)  
 sola. Enim tantus est splendor in verâ laude,  
 only. For so great is the splendour in true praise,  
 tanta dignitas in magnitudine animi et  
 so great (is the) dignity in greatness of mind and

consilii, ut hæc videantur esse donata a virtute,  
 of counsel, that these appear to-be-given by virtue,  
 cetera commodata a fortunâ. Noli igitur  
 the others confided by fortune. Do-not therefore  
 defatigari in conservandis bonis viris lapsis,  
 become-wearied in preserving good men fallen,  
 præsertim non cupiditate, aut aliquâ pravitate,  
 especially not by cupidity, or any depravity  
 sed opinione officii, fortasse stulta,  
 (of disposition), but by a sense of duty, perhaps foolish, (but)  
 certe non improba, et quâdam specie  
 certainly not wicked, and by-a-certain appearance (of duty)  
 reipublicæ. Enim est non ulla culpa tua, si aliqui  
 to-the-republic. For it is not any fault (of) yours, if some  
 timuerunt te; que contra summa laus,  
 feared you; and on-the-contrary (it is your) greatest praise  
 quòd plerique senserunt timen-  
 that the-most have-become-sensible (that) you-were (not)  
 dum fuisse minime.  
 to-have-been-feared in-the-smallest (degree).

7. Vero nunc venio ad tuam gravissimam querelam,  
 But now I come to your most-heavy complaint,

et atrocissimam suspicionem; quæ est providenda,  
 and severe suspicion; which is to-be-guarded-against,  
 non magis tibi ipsi, quam cum omnibus civibus,  
 not the more for-you yourself, than also for-all the citizens,  
 tum maxime nobis, qui sumus conservati a  
 then more-especially for-ourselves, who have-been preserved by  
 te; quam etsi spero esse falsam,  
 you; which (suspicion) though I-hope (that it) is false,  
 tamen nunquam extenuabo verbis. Enim  
 yet 'I-will never 'extenuate (it) by (my) words. For  
 tua cautio est nostra cautio; ut si  
 your caution (for yourself) is our caution; (so) that if  
 pecandum sit in alterutro, malim videri  
 it-may-be-erred in on-either (side), I-would-rather seem-to-be  
 nimis timidus, quàm parum prudens. Sed  
 too timid, than too-little prudent. [imprudent.] But

quisnam est iste tam demens? ne de tuis?  
 who is this-one so senseless? whether (is he) of your-own

tametsi qui sunt magis tui, quàm  
 (friends)? and-yet who are more your (friends), than (those)  
 quibus insperantibus tu reddidisti salutem? an  
 to whom without-hoping-for-it you have-restored safely? or-any

ex eo numero, qui fuerunt unà cum te?  
 from-among that number, who had-been together-with you (in the

Est non credibilis tantus furor  
 war)? It-is not credible (that there should be) such madness

in ullo, ut, quo duce sit  
 in any-one, that (the general), through which general he-may-have

adeptus summa omnia, non anteponat  
 attained the height (of) all (his wishes), 'he-should not 'prefer

hujus vitam suæ. At si tui cogitant  
 this (general's) life to-his-own. But if your (friends) think (or plan)

nihil sceleris, cavendum est,  
 nothing of wickedness (against you), I-suppose-it-must-be-cared-for,

ne inimici quid. Qui?  
 lest (your) enemies (might do) any-thing (against you). Who (are they)?

Enim omnes, qui fuerunt aut amiserunt  
 For all, who were (your enemies), 'have either 'lost

vitam suâ pertinaciâ, aut retinuerunt  
 (their) lives by-their obstinacy, or they-preserved (them)

tuâ misericordiâ; ut aut nulli de inimicis  
 by-your mercy; so-that either none of (your) enemies

supersint, aut, qui superfuerunt sint  
 remain, or (those), who have-remained are (your,

amicissimi.  
 most-devoted-friends.

Sed tamen, cum sint in animis hominum tantæ  
 But however, as there are in the minds of men so many

latebræ, et tanti recessus, augeamus  
 hiding-places, and so-many (secret) recesses, let-us-increase

sane tuam suspicionem, enim simul augebimus  
 then your suspicion, for at-the-same-time we-shall-increase

diligentiam. Nam quis est, tam  
 (your) diligence (and circumspection). For who is there, so

ignarus omnium rerum, tam rudis in  
 ignorant of all things, so unskilled in (the affairs of)  
 republica, tam nihil cogitans unquam nec  
 the republic, so thoughtless (as) never (to reflect) either  
 de suâ salute, nec de communi, qui  
 about his-own safety, or about the common (safety), who 'does  
 non intelligat suam contineri tuâ salute  
 not 'understand (that) his-own (safety) is comprised in-your safety  
 et ex tuâ vitâ unius pendere omnium?  
 and (that) on your life alone depends (the lives) of all?

Equidem, cogitans de te (ut debeo) dies que noctes,  
 In truth, thinking of you (as I ought) day and night,

extimesco duntaxat humanos casus,  
 I fear only (those) human accidents (to which all are  
 et incertos eventus valetudinis, et  
 subject), and the uncertain events of-health, and  
 fragilitatem communis naturæ; que doleo  
 the weakness 'of (our) 'common nature; and I-grieve (that)

cum republica debeat esse immortalis, eam  
 while the republic ought to be immortal, (that) it  
 consistere in animâ unius mortalis. Vero si ad  
 depends on the life of-one mortal (man). But if to

humanos casus, que incertos eventus  
 human accidents (of life), and the uncertain events

valetudinis, accedit consensio sceleris que  
 of health, there-is-added the conspiracy of crime and

insidiarum, quem Deum credamus posse opitulari  
 treachery, then what God might we-think could assist

reipublicæ, si cupiat.  
 the republic, (even) if he-desire (to do so).

8. Omnia, quæ, C. Cæsar, sentis jacere perculsa  
 All things, which, O C. Cæsar, you perceive to lie knocked-down

atque prostrata impetu belli ipsius, (quod fuit  
 and prostrated by-the-violence of war itself, (which was

necesse) sunt excitanda tibi;  
 necessarily so; (all these) are to-be-raised-up by you;

judicia constituenda  
 the-tribunals-of-justice are-to-be-established (on their ancient footing)

fides revocanda, libidines comprimendæ,  
confidence is-to-be-restored, licentiousness is-to-be-repressed,

soboles propaganda; omnia quæ jam dilapsa,  
population is-to-be-increased; all-things, which now fallen-to-pieces,

fluxerunt, vincienda sunt  
(are fast perishing and) passing away, are-to-be-bound (together and

severis legibus. Fuit non recusandum,  
reinstated) by severe laws. It-was not to-be-denied (that),

in tanto civili bello, que tanto ardore  
in so-great a civil war, and in-so-great an excitement

animorum et armorum, quin  
of mind and of arms, (in civil contests), but that (violently)

quassata, respublica, quicunque fuisset eventus  
shaken, the republic, whatever might-be the event

belli, perderet multa et ornamenta  
of-the-war, would-lose much both as (respects) the ornaments

dignitatis et præsidia suæ stabilitatis; que uterque  
of (its) dignity and the guards of its stability; and each

dux faceret multa armatus, quæ idem  
general would-have-done many-things (while in) arms, which he

prohibuisset fieri, togatus.  
would-have-forbidden to-be-done, (when) clothed with the toga, (the

Omnia quæ vulnera belli curanda sunt  
dress of peace): All which wounds of war are-to-be-cured

tibi; quibus nemo præter te potest mederi.  
by you; which no-one except you can heal.

Itaque invitus audiavi illam tuam præclarissimam  
Therefore (with) regret I heard that your very-celebrated

et sapientissimam vocem, "Vixi satis diu vel  
and very-wise saying, "I-have-lived sufficiently long either

naturæ vel gloriæ." Satis fortasse si vis  
for-nature or for glory." Sufficiently (long) perhaps if you-wish

ita naturæ; etiam addo si placet gloriæ;  
(it to be) so for-nature; also I-add if it-pleases (you) for-glory;

at (quod est maximum) certe parum  
but (what is (of) the greatest (importance), certainly (but) little

patræ. Quare omitte, quæso  
(long enough) for (your) country. Wherefore give-up, I-pray (you)



istam prudentiam doctorum hominum in contemnendâ  
 this wisdom of learned men in despising

morte; noli esse sapiens nostro periculo. Enim  
 death; do not be wise at our risk. For 'it has

sæpe venit ad meas aures, te dicere istud idem  
 often 'come to my ears, (that) you say this same

nimis crebro, te vixisse satis  
 (thing) too often, that you have-lived sufficiently (long;

tibi. Credo; sed tum  
 for-yourself. I believe (you are of this mind); but then (only)

audirem id, si viveres tibi soli, aut si  
 would-I-listen (to) it, if you-lived for yourself alone, or if

etiam natus esses tibi soli. Nunc, cum tuæ  
 also you-were-born for yourself alone. (But) now, when your

res gestæ complexæ sint salutem  
 deeds have-embraced (and are identified with) the safety

omnium civium, que cunctam  
 of all the citizens, and (the same may also be said of) the entire

republicam; tantum abes a perfectione  
 republic; 'you-are so-very 'distant from the completion

maximorum operum, ut nondum jeceris  
 of (your) greatest works, that 'you-have not-as-yet 'laid

fundamenta quæ cogitas. Tu  
 the foundations (thereof) which you-may-think (you have). Will you

hîc defines modum tuæ vitæ non  
 here limit the measure of your life not as respects the

salute reipublicæ, sed æquitate animi? Quid  
 safety of-the-republic, but the equanimity of your mind? What

si istud est ne quidem satis  
 if that (portion of your life passed) is not indeed sufficient

tuæ gloriæ? cujus, quamvis sis sapiens,  
 for-your glory? of which (glory), although you-be a-wise-man,

non negabis, te esse avidissimum.  
 'you will not 'deny, (that) you are very desirous.

Igitur inquires, ne parum magnam gloriam  
 Therefore you-ask, (is it) but little (of) great glory

relinquemus? Immo  
 we-shall-leave (behind us, should our life now terminate)? Truly

vero satis aliis, quamvis multis; tibi uni parum  
indeed enough for-others, however numerous; for-you. alone (too) little

Enim quidquid est, quamvis sit amplum,  
For whatever is (your glory), although it-may be ample

id certe est tum parum, cum est aliquid  
it certainly is then little, when there-is something

amplius. Quod si, C. Cæsar,  
greater (of glory, that may be obtained). Because if, O C. Cæsar,

hic futurus sit exitus tuarum immortalium rerum,  
this were-to-be the result 'of your immortal achievements,

ut, adversariis devictis, relinqueres rempublicam  
that, (your) enemies being conquered, you-would-leave the republic

in eo statu, in quo nunc est; vide, quæso, ne  
in that state, in which 'it now 'is; see (to it), I-beg-you, lest

tua divina virtus sit habitura plus admirationis  
your divine virtue may-hereafter-have more of-admiration

quàm gloriæ; siquidem gloria est illustris ac  
than of-glory; since glory is illustrious and

pervagata fama multorum et magnorum meritorum,  
wide-spread renown of-many and great services (done),

vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne  
either to one's (friends), or to one's country, or to the whole

genus hominum.

race of-men.

9. Igitur hæc est pars reliqua tibi, hic  
Therefore this is the part (that) is left to-you, this

actus restat, in hoc elaborandum est ut  
act remains (to be performed), in this exertion-is-to-be-made that

constituas rempublicam, que eâ  
'you-may-(firmly) 'establish the republic, and this (republic)

compositâ, tu in primis perfruare  
'being (thus) 'settled, you (may be) among the first to enjoy (t)

cum summâ tranquillitate et otio; tum, cum  
the greatest tranquillity and leisure; then, when

et solveris quod debes  
'you-have both 'discharged the duty which you-owe 'to (your)

patriæ, et expleveris naturam ipsam satietate  
country, and may-have-filled nature herself with satiety

vivendi dicito si voles,  
 of living [and shall have attained to a good old age] say if you-wish,  
 te vixisse satis diu. Enim quid omnino est  
 (that) you have-lived sufficiently long. For what after-all is  
 hoc ipsum diu, in quo est aliquid extremum,  
 this same long (living), in which there is something the last  
 quod cum venit, omnis  
 (and which must have an end), which when it-arrives, all  
 præterita voluptas est pro nihilo, quia postea  
 past pleasure is for nothing, because after-that  
 futura est nulla? Quanquam iste animus tuus  
 there will be nothing? Although that mind (of) yours  
 nunquam contentus fuit his angustiis, quas  
 never was-content with-those narrow (limits), which  
 natura dedit nobis ad vivendum; que semper  
 nature has-given us to live (in); and always  
 flagravît amore immortalitatis.  
 was-inflamed with-the-love of-immortality.

Nec vero hæc tua vita ducenda est, quæ  
 Nor truly 'is this your life 'to-be-considered (as that), which  
 continetur corpore et spiritu. Illa, illa, inquam  
 is-contained in-the-body and spirit. That, that, I-say  
 est tua vita, quæ vigebit memoriâ omnium  
 is your life, which will-flourish in-the-memory of all  
 sæculorum; quam posteritas alet, quam æternitas  
 ages; which posterity will-cherish, which eternity  
 ipsa semper tuebitur. Huic oportet  
 itself 'will always 'preserve. For this (existence) it-behoves (that)  
 tu inservias, huic ostentes te;  
 you exert (yourself), for-this you-will-show yourself (in your  
 quæ quidem jampridem habet multa  
 true glory); (a life) which indeed long-since has many-things  
 quæ miretur; nunc etiam expectat, quæ  
 which may-be-admired; now also it-looks-for (that), which  
 laudet. Certe posteri obstupescant, (when)  
 may-receive-praise. Certainly posterity will-be-amazed,  
 audientes et legentes imperia,  
 hearing, and reading (of) (your various) commands

provincias, Rhenum, Oceanum, Nilum,  
 'the provinces, the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile, (your)  
 innumerabiles pugnas, incredibiles victorias,  
 innumerable battles, (your) incredible victories, (your)  
 innumera monumenta, tuos triumphos. Sed, nisi  
 countless monuments, (and) your triumphs. But, unless  
 hæc urbs stabilita erit tuis consiliis et institutis,  
 this city is-firmly-settled by your counsels and laws,  
 tuum nomen modo tum vagabitur longe atque  
 your name 'will only then 'be-spread-out far and  
 late; quidem non habebit stabilem sedem et  
 wide; (but) indeed 'it will not 'have a stable abode and  
 certum domicilium. Etiam erit inter  
 certain domicile (to dwell in). Also there-will-be among  
 eos qui nascentur, sicut fuit inter nos,  
 those who (hereafter) will-be-born, as there-was among ourselves,  
 magna dissensio, cum alii efferent tuas res gestas  
 great dissension, while some will-raise your exploits  
 laudibus ad cœlum, alii fortasse requirent aliquid,  
 with praises to heaven, others perhaps will-require something  
 que id vel maximum, nisi  
 (more), and that even the-greatest-of-all, unless  
 restinxeris incendium civilis belli salute  
 you-shall-have-extinguished the conflagration of civil war by-the-safety  
 patriæ; ut illud videatur fuisse  
 of-(your) 'country; (so) that the-former may-appear to-have-been (the  
 fati, hoc consilii. Igitur  
 work) of fate, this (the latter the work of your wise) counsel. Therefore  
 servi etiam iis iudicibus, qui multis seculis  
 have-regard also to-those judges, who many ages  
 pòst iudicabunt de te, et quidem, haud scio an  
 hereafter will decide concerning you, and indeed, perhaps  
 incorruptius, quàm nos; nam iudicabunt, et  
 more-unbiassedly, than we (can); for they-will-judge, both  
 sine amore et sine cupiditate, et rursus  
 without affection and without cupidity, and (also) again  
 sine odio et sine invidiâ. Autem etiam si  
 without hatred and without envy. But also if (all)

id non tunc pertinebit ad te  
 this 'should not then 'affect to you (hereafter, when dead)  
 (ut quidam falso putant); certe nunc pertinet  
 'as some falsely suppose); 'it certainly now 'behoves (you)  
 te esse talem, ut nulla  
 (that) you be such, [conduct yourself in such a manner], that no  
 oblivio unquam obscuratura sit tuas  
 oblivion 'shall ever (hereafter) 'obscure your  
 laudes.  
 praises.

### 10. Voluntates civium fuerunt diversæ, que

The inclinations of-the-citizens were diverse, and (their)

sententiæ distractæ, enim non  
 opinions distracted (and divided in the civil war); for 'we did not  
 solum dissidebamus consiliis et studiis, sed etiam  
 only 'differ by (our) counsels and wishes, but also  
 armis et castris.  
 by-arms and camps (and took different sides in the military operations).

Autem erat quædam obscuritas, erat  
 But there was some obscurity (in the affair), there was  
 certamen inter clarissimos duces;  
 a contest between the-most-celebrated generals (Cæsar and Pompey);  
 multi dubitabant, quid esset optimum;  
 many doubted, what might-be best (to be done, for the in-  
 terest of the republic); multi quid expediret sibi;  
 many what might-be-expedient for-themsel-ves;  
 multi quid deceret; etiam nonnulli  
 many what might-be-becoming (for them to do); also some  
 quid liceret.  
 what it-might-be-allowed (for them to do for their own private interest):

Respublica perfuncta est hoc misero que  
 The republic 'has (at last) 'gone-through this miserable and  
 fatali bello; is vicit, qui non  
 fatal (civil) war; he has-conquered, who 'would not  
 inflammaret suum odium fortunâ,  
 'inflamm his hatred by success (or make use of good  
 sed leniret  
 fortune as a means of revenge), but would-mitigate (it)



bonitate ; nec, qui, omnes quibus  
 by kindness (and clemency) ; nor, who, all (those) with whom  
 iratus esset judicaret, etiam  
 he-had-been-displeased (and offended) would-he-deem (them), also  
 eosdem dignos exsilio aut morte. Arma  
 the same (as) worthy (of) exile or death. Arms  
 posita ab aliis, ab aliis erepta sunt.  
 were-laid-down by some, from others they-were-taken. (That)  
 civis est ingratus que injustus, qui liberatus  
 citizen is ungrateful and unjust, who having-been-freed  
 periculo armorum, tamen retinet armatum  
 from-the-dangers of war, yet retains a hostile  
 animum ; ut etiam ille sit melior,  
 mind ; (so) that also he is better (and more excusable),  
 qui cecidit in acie, qui profudit animam in causâ.  
 who fell in battle, who lost (his) life in the cause.  
 Enim quæ potest videri pertinacia quibusdam,  
 For that-which may appear obstinacy in some,  
 eadem aliis constantia. Sed jam omnis  
 the same in-others (may appear) constancy. But now all  
 dissensio fracta est armis, et extincta  
 dissension has-been-crushed by-arms, and extinguished  
 æquitate victoris ; restat, ut omnes velint  
 by-the-justice of-the-conqueror ; it-remains, that all may-desire  
 unum, qui modo habent non solum  
 one (and the same thing), who indeed may-have not only  
 aliquid sapientiæ, sed etiam sanitatis. Nisi,  
 any-thing of wisdom, but also soundness-of-mind. Unless,  
 Cæsar, te salvo, et manente in istâ  
 O Cæsar, you being-safe, and remaining in this (same)  
 sententiâ, quâ cum antea vel tum hodie  
 opinion, which as (well) heretofore as moreover to-day  
 maxime usus es,  
 'you-have more-especially 'made-use-of, [in the same opinions you have  
 possumus non esse salvi.  
 always declared yourself to be of] 'we-can not be safe.  
 Quare omnes, qui volumus hæc esse salva,  
 wherefore (we) all, who wish these (things) to-be safe,

et hortamur et obsecramus te ut consulas  
 both exhort and entreat you that you consult (your)  
 vitæ, ut tuæ salutis; que omnes  
 life, that (you would consult) your safety; and 'we all  
 pollicemur tibi (ut etiam loquar pro aliis,  
 promise you (that 'I-may also 'speak for others,  
 quod ipse sentio de me), quoniam putas  
 that-which I-myself feel as respects myself), because you-think  
 aliquid subesse, quod  
 there 'is something (formed against you) 'concealed, which  
 cavendum sit, non modo excubias et  
 it-may-be-necessary-to-guard-against, not only watches and  
 custodias, sed etiam oppositus nostrorum  
 sentinels, but also (we promise) the opposition of our  
 laterum et corporum.  
 sides and bodies (as ramparts against your enemies).

11. Sed unde oratio orsa est terminetur in  
 But whence (my) speech began let-it-end in  
 eodem.  
 the same (place). [Let my speech end with the same expressions of thanks,

Omnes, C. Cæsar, agimus maximas  
 that it began with.] 'We all, O C. Cæsar, 'return great  
 gratias tibi; habemus etiam majores.  
 thanks to-you; we-have also (yet) greater (thanks that we

Nam omnes sentiunt idem;  
 cannot express). For all feel the same (thing)  
 quod potuisti sentire ex precibus et  
 which you-might-have perceived from the entreaties and  
 lacrymis omnium. Sed, quia est non necesse  
 tears of all. But, because it-is not necessary  
 omnibus stantibus dicere; certe

volunt dici a me, cui est quodammodo  
 they-wish (them) to-be-expressed by me, to whom it-is in-some-sort

necesse, et quod volunt, et quod decet,  
 necessary (to say), both what they-wish, and what is-proper,  
 et id, quod intelligo debere præcipue fieri a me,  
 and that, which I consider ought principally to-be-done by me

(M. Marcello reddito a te huic ordini

(M. Marcello being-restored by you to this order (of the senate,

que Romano populo et reipublicæ). Nam sentio

and the Roman people and to-the-republic) For I-feel (that)

omnes lætari, non ut de salute unius solum, sed ut

all rejoice, not as for the safety of one alone, but as

de communi salute omnium; atem quod est

for the common safety of all; but which is (a proof

summæ benevolentiae (quæ fuit semper nota

of the greatest affection (which was always known

omnibus me erga illum, ut vix cederem

to all, (that) I (had) towards him, that scarcely did-I-yield

C. Marcello optimo et amantissimo fratri, quidem

to C. Marcellus his most excellent and affectionate brother, indeed

præter eum nemini), cum præstiterim id sollicitudine,

except him to no one), as I-showed this 'by (my) 'solicitude,

curâ, labore tamdiu quamdiu

'by (my) 'care, (and) 'by (my) 'exertion as-long as

dubitatum est de illius salute, certe debeo

it-was-doubted respecting his safety, I certainly ought

præstare hoc tempore liberatus

to show (my affection) at-this time (when) freed

magnis curis, molestiis, doloribus.

from great cares, troubles, (and) sufferings (respecting him).

Itaque, C. Cæsar, sic ago gratias, ut me

Therefore, O C. Cæsar, I thus return thanks, that I being

non solum conservato a te omnibus rebus, sed

not only preserved by you in-all things, but

etiam ornato, tamen ad tua innumerabilia merita

also honoured, however to your innumerable kind acts

in me unum, (quod arbitraber posse non jam

to me alone, (which I-thought could not even-now

fieri), hoc tuo facto

be made) (greater), by this your act (of pardoning M. Marcellus)

maximus cumulus accesserit.

the greatest crowning-favour has acceded.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*  
 PRO  
 FOR  
 MANILIA LEGE.  
*THE MANILIAN LAW.*

---

1. **QUANQUAM** conspectus vester frequens

Although the sight (of) your number us (assembly)

semper est visus mihi, Quirites, multo  
 has always 'appeared to-me, O Romans, (by) much

jucundissimus, autem hic locus amplissimus  
 the-most-agreeable (sight), moreover this place the-most-dignified

ad agendum, ornatissimus ad dicendum;  
 to treat (with you), (and) the-most-honourable to speak (in);

tamen, hoc aditu laudis, qui semper maxime  
 however, from-this avenue to praise, which 'was always especially

patuit, cuique optimo, non mea  
 'open, to each distinguished (and excellent man), not my

voluntas, sed meæ rationes vitæ susceptæ ab  
 will, but my rules of life adopted from

ineunte ætate prohibuerunt me. Nam  
 the commencing age (of my career, 'held me 'back. For

cum antea, per ætatem, auderem nondum  
 when heretofore, on-account-of (my) age, I dared not-yet

attingere auctoritatem hujus loci, que statuerem,  
 aspire to-the-dignity of-this place, and 'I-sat (it) 'down,

nihil oportere afferi huc nisi  
(that) nothing ought to-be-brought to-this-place unless (it)

perfectum ingenio elaboratum industriâ; putavi  
were-perfected by talent (and) elaborated by industry; 'I (therefore)

omne meum tempus transmittendum  
'thought (that) all my time was-to-be-given-over

temporibus amicorum. Ita neque fuit hic locus  
to-the-affairs of-my-friends. Also neither was this place

unquam vacuus ab iis, qui defenderent vestram  
ever unoccupied by those, who might-defend your

causam; et meus labor versatus caste quo  
cause (and interests); and my labour employed faithfully and

integre in periculis privatorum, est consecutus  
honestly in the dangers of private (individuals), has-obtained

amplissimum fructum ex vestro iudicio.  
the-most-ample reward from your judgment (and opinion,

Nam cum propter dilationem  
favourably pronounced for me). For when on-account-of the adjournment

comitiorum, renuntiatus sum ter, primus  
of-the-comitia, I-was-declared (elected) three-times, (as) first

prætor cunctis centuriis, facile intellexi,  
prætor by-all the centuries, 'I readily 'understood (from this),

Quirites, et quid judicaretis de me, et quid  
O-Romans, both what you-might-judge of me, and what

præscriberetis aliis. Et nunc, cum sit tantum  
you-might-prescribe to others. And now, when there-may-be so-much

auctoritatis in me, quantum vos voluistis  
of authority (and influence) in me, as you have-willed

esse honoribus mandandis; et  
(that) there be by-honours assigned (to me, by you) and

tantum facultas ad agendum,  
so-much capacity (and fitness) for treating-with-you (and addressing

quantum prope quotidiana exercitatio dicendi  
you), as almost the daily exercise of speaking

potuit afferre vigilantî hominî, ex usu  
could bring to an industrious man, from the practice (of me)

forensi; et certe si est quid auctoritatis in  
bar; and certainly if there is any-thing of-authority in



me, utar eâ apud eos, qui dederunt eam  
 me, I-will-use it before those, who conferred this (authority)  
 mihi; et si etiam possum consequi quid dicendo,  
 on me; and if also I can effect any-thing by speaking,  
 ostendam potissimum iis, qui quoque  
 I will-display (it) the-most-especially to-those, who also  
 censuerunt suo iudicio fructum  
 have-thought by-their (favourable) opinion (and suffrages, that) a-reward  
 tribuendum esse ei rei. Atque video,  
 ought-to-be-given (me) for-this thing. And I-see, (that),  
 illud in primis, lætandum esse mihi jure,  
 that in particular, 'ought-to rejoice me by-right,  
 quòd in hac insolitâ ratione dicendi mihi, ex  
 that in this unusual mode of-speaking for-me, (and) from  
 hoc loco, talis causa oblata est, in quâ oratio  
 this place, such a cause is offered (to me), in which an oration  
 potest deesse nemini. Enim dicendum est de  
 could fail no-one. For it-is-to-be-discoursed about  
 singulari que eximiâ virtute Cn. Pompeii; hujus  
 the-singular and eminent virtue of Cn. Pompey; of-this  
 orationis est difficilior invenire exitum quàm  
 discourse it-is more-difficult to-find the termination than  
 principium. Ita non tam copia,  
 the commencement. Therefore not so-much copiousness (or diffusion),  
 quàm modus in dicendo quærendum est.  
 as (a restricted) mode in speaking is-to-be-sought-for.

2. Atque ut mea oratio proficiscatur inde,  
 And that my oration may-proceed-from thence,

unde omnis hæc causa ducitur; grave et  
 whence all this affair is-derived; a serious and  
 periculosum bellum infertur vestris vectigalibus  
 dangerous war is-waged against-your revenue  
 atque sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus,  
 and allies by two most-powerful kings,  
 Mithridate et Tigraue, quorum alter relictus,  
 Mithridates and Tigranes, of-whom the one being-left  
 alter laceratus,  
 (to himself and unmolested), the other provoked (by your attacks),

arbitrantur occasionem oblatum esse sibi ad  
 think (that) an opportunity is-offered to-them to  
 occupandum Asiam. Literæ quotidie afferuntur  
 occupy Asia. Letters 'are daily 'brought  
 ex Asiâ Romanis equitibus, honestissimis viris,  
 from Asia to Roman knights, most-honourable men,  
 quorum magnæ res occupatæ, in  
 of, whom [belonging to whom] great sums-of-money employed, in  
 exercendis vestris vectigalibus, aguntur; qui,  
 collecting your revenues, are-at-stake; who  
 pro necessitudine, quæ est mihi, cum illo  
 on-account-of the-intimate-connexion, which is with-me, with that  
 ordine detulerunt ad  
 order (of knight, from which I have myself sprung) brought to  
 me causam reipublicæ,  
 (and entrusted) me (with the task of pleading) the cause of-the-republic,  
 que pericula suarum rerum; Bithyniæ, quæ  
 and the dangers of their (private) fortunes; in Bithynia, which  
 est nunc vestra provincia, complures  
 is now your province, (it is said that) many  
 vicos exustos esse; regum Ariobarzanis, quod  
 villages have-been-burnt; (that) the kingdom of Ariobarzanes, which  
 finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, esse totum in  
 borders-on your tributaries, is entirely in  
 potestate hostium; Lucillum, gestis magnis  
 the power of-the-enemy; (that) Lucullus, having-performed great  
 rebus, discedere ab eo bello; huic, qui  
 exploits, is retiring from that war; (that) to-him, who  
 successerit non satis paratum esse  
 may-succeed (Lucullus) 'it has not 'been sufficiently 'provided  
 ad administrandum tantum bellum; unum  
 for conducting so-great a war; (that) one-person [Pom.  
 deposed] atque expeti ab omnibus sociis et  
 pey] is-demanded and required by all allies and  
 civibus imperatorem ad id bellum; hunc  
 citizens (as) the commander for that war; (that) this

**eundem unum metui ab hostibus, præterea**  
 same individual is-feared by the enemy, (and) besides (him)  
**neminem.**  
 no-one.

**Videtis quæ sit causa**

You-see what may-be the case (and the nature of the affair before

**nunc, considerate quid sit agendum. Videtur**  
 now, consider what is-to-be-done. It-seems

**mihi primum dicendum esse de genere**  
 to-me (that) first mention-ought-to-be-made of the nature

**belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de**  
 of-the-war, afterwards of (its) magnitude, (and) then of

**imperatore diligendo. Genus belli est ejusmodi,**  
 the commander to-be-chosen. The nature of-the-war is of-that-kind,

**quod debeat maxime excitare atque inflammare**  
 which ought very-greatly to-excite and to-inflame

**vestros animos ad studium persequendi;**  
 your minds to the zealous-desire of-carrying (it) on (to a suc-

**in quo gloria Romani populi**  
 cessful conclusion); in which the glory of-the-Roman people

**agitur, quæ tradita est vobis a majoribus,**  
 is-staked, which has-been-handed-down to you by (your) ancestors,

**cum magna in omnibus**  
 (which glory of your ancestor) when (it was) great in all

**rebus, tum summa in militari re; salus**  
 things, (was) then the greatest in military affairs; the safety

**sociorum atque amicorum agitur, pro quâ vestri**  
 of-our-allies and friends is-at-stake, for which your

**maiores gesserunt multa magna et gravia bella;**  
 ancestors have-waged many great and serious wars;

**certissima et maxima vectigalia Romani populi**  
 the most-sure and greatest revenues of-the-Roman people

**aguntur; quibus amissis, requiretis**  
 are-at-stake; which being-lost, you-will-require (and miss

**et ornamenta pacis, et subsidia belli; bona**  
 both the ornaments of peace, and the subsidies of war; the property

**multorum civium aguntur, quibus consulendum est**  
 of many citizens is-at-stake, for-which care-is-to-be-taken

a vobus, et causâ ipsorum et  
 by you, both for the sake of those-interested and (for the sake)  
 reipublicæ.  
 of the republic.

3. Et quoniam semper fuistis appetentes  
 And because 'you always have-been seekers  
 gloriæ, atque avidi laudis præter ceteras gentes,  
 of glory, and eager of praise beyond (all) other nations,  
 illa macula, suscepta superiore Mithridatico bello,  
 that stain, received in-the-former Mithridatic war,  
 delenda est vobis, quæ jam insedit penitus  
 is-to-be-effaced by-you, which (stain) now has-settled deep  
 atque inveteravit in nomine  
 and 'established (itself) 'by-length-of-time on the name  
 Romani populi; quod is qui, uno  
 of-the-Roman people; that he (Mithridates) who, in-one (and the  
 die, in totâ Asiâ, in tot civitatibus,  
 same) day, in all Asia, in so-many cities (and states),  
 denotavit uno nuntio, atque significatione  
 designated by-a-single messenger, and by-the-signification (or order)  
 unâ literarum Romanos cives  
 alone of-a-letter (he carried with him) Roman citizens  
 trucidandos que necandos, non modo adhuc  
 to-be-butchered and put-to-death, not only as-yet  
 suscepit ullam poenam dignam scelere;  
 has-he-(not)-received any punishment commensurate with-the-crime;  
 sed jam regnat, tertium et vicesimum annum  
 but 'he now 'reigns, (in the) three and twentieth year  
 ab illo tempore; et regnat, ita ut  
 from that time (of the massacre); and he-reigns, so that 'he-does  
 non velit occultare se Ponto, neque latebris  
 not 'pretend to-hide himself in-Pontus, nor in-the-lurking-places  
 Cappadociæ, sed emergere e patrio  
 f Cappadocia, but (he seeks) to-emerge from (his) hereditary  
 regno, atque versari in vestris  
 kingdom, and to-carry-on (his warlike operations) among your  
 vectigalibus, hoc est in luce. Asiæ.  
 tributaries, that is in (open day) light (and view of all) Asia

Etenim adhuc, vestri imperatores ita contenderunt  
 For until-now, your generals 'have so 'contended  
 cum illo rege, ut reportarent ab  
 with that king, that (they may be said to) have carried off from  
 illo insignia victoriæ, non victoriam. L. Sulla  
 him the-tokens of victory, (and) not victory (itself). L. Sylla  
 triumphavit de Mithridate, L. Murena triumphavit,  
 triumphed over Mithridates, L. Murena triumphed  
 duo fortissimi viri, et summi imperatores;  
 (over him), two most-valiant men, and the greatest commanders;  
 sed triumpharunt ita, ut ille, pulsus que superatus,  
 but they triumphed so, that he, repulsed and defeated,  
 regnaret. Verumtamen laus est tribuenda illis  
 still reigned. But-indeed praise is to-be-given to-those  
 imperatoribus quod egerunt; venia danda,  
 generals (for) what they did; pardon is-to-be-granted,  
 quod reliquerunt; propterea quòd respublica  
 for what they-left-undone; because that the republic  
 revocavit Sullam ab eo bello in Italiam, Sulla  
 recalled Sylla from that war to Italy, (and) Sylla  
 Murenam.  
 (recalled) Murena.

4. Autem Mithridates contulit omne reliquum  
 But Mithridates employed all the intervening  
 tempus, non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad  
 time, not in the oblivion of-the-old war, but in  
 comparationem novi; qui, posteaquam  
 the preparing of a new (war); who, after-that  
 edificasset que ornasset maximas classes, que  
 he-had-built and equipped very-great fleets, and  
 comparasset permagnos exercitus, ex quibuscunque  
 assembled very-large armies, from whatever  
 gentibus potuisset, et simulasset se  
 nations he-could, and pretended (that) he (was about)  
 inferre bellum Bosporanis, suis  
 to wage war against-the-inhabitants-on-the-Bosphorus, his  
 finitimis; misit legatos ac literas, usque in  
 neighbours; he-sent ambassadors and letters, even unto



Hispaniam ad eos duces, cum quibus tum  
Spain to those leaders, with whom 'we-were then

gerebamus bellum; cum ut bellum gereretur  
'waging war; so that the war might-be-carried-on

terrâ que mari, in duobus disjunctissimis, que  
by-land and by-sea, in two widely-separated, and

maxime diversis locis, uno consilio  
very greatly dissimilar places, with one (and the same) plan

a binis copiis hostium, vos districti  
(of operation) by two armies of-the-enemy, (so that) you occupied

ancipiti contentione dimicaretis de imperio.  
by-a-double contest might-have-to-fight for the empire (itself)

Sed tamen periculum alterius partis, Sertorianæ  
But however the danger of-the-other part (namely), the Sertorian

atque Hispaniensis, quæ habebat multo plus  
and Spanish (danger), which had much more

firmamenti ac roboris, depulsum est divino consilio  
stability and strength, was-warded-off by-the-divine wisdom

ac singulari virtute Cn. Pompeii; in alterâ parte,  
and singular valour of Cn. Pompey; on the other part

res ita administrata est a L. Lucullo,  
(in Asia), the affair 'was so 'managed by L. Lucullus,

summo viro, ut illa magna atque præclara  
a-most-distinguished man, that those great and brilliant

initia gestarum rerum videantur esse tribuenda,  
beginnings 'of (his) 'exploits may-seem to be attributed,

non ejus felicitati, sed virtuti, autem hæc  
not 'to his 'good-fortune, but 'to (his) 'valour, but these

extrema, quæ nuper acciderunt,  
latter (reverses), which lately have-happened, (may seem to be attri-

buted), not (to any) fault (of his), but (to bad) fortune. But of

Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam  
Lucullus I-shall-speak in-another place, and 'I shall so 'speak (of him)

Quirites, ut videatur, neque vera laus  
O Romans, that it-may-seem, (that) neither true praise

detracta ei nostrâ oratione, neque falsa  
has-been-taken-from him by-our oration, nor false (praise)

**afficta esse** De dignitate atque gloriâ  
 to-have-been-bestowed (on him). Concerning the-dignity and the-glory  
**vestri imperii, quoniam is est exorsus meæ**  
 of-your empire, as that is the beginning of my  
**orationis, videte, quem animum putetis**  
 oration, consider, what (feelings of) mind you-may-think  
**suscipiendum vobis.**  
 ought-to-be-entertained by-you.

5. **Vestri majores sæpe gesserunt bella**  
 Your ancestors 'have often 'waged wars (on account  
**mercatoribus ac naviculariis injuriosius**  
 of their) merchants and seafaring-men 'having-been too-injuriously  
**tractatis; tandem, quo animo debetis vos esse,**  
 'treated; in-fine, in-what (state of) mind ought you to-be,  
**tot millibus Romanorum civium necatis,**  
 so-many thousands of Roman citizens being-slain, (by an order  
**uno nuntio, atque uno tempore? Vestri**  
 carried) by-one messenger, and (all) at-the-same time? Your  
**patres voluerunt Corinthum, lumen totius Græciæ,**  
 ancestors resolved (that) Corinth, the light of-all Greece,  
**extinctum esse quodd legati**  
 should-be extinguished (and destroyed) because (your) ambassadors  
**erant superbius appellati; vos patiemini eum regem**  
 were too-haughtily addressed; you suffer that king  
**esse inultum, qui necavit legatum Romani populi,**  
 to-be unpunished, who murdered an ambassador of the Roman people,  
**consularem, excruciatum vinculis ac**  
 (and he of) consular-dignity, (after being) tortured by chains and  
**verberibus, atque omni supplicio? Illi**  
 scourging, and all (kinds of) punishments? They (your  
**non tulerunt libertatem**  
 ancestors) 'did not 'suffer the liberty (and privileges)  
**Romanorum civium imminutam; vos negligetis**  
 of Roman citizens to-be-infringed; 'will you 'neglect  
**vitam ereptam? Illi**  
 (to avenge) the-life taken (from your ambassador): They  
**persecuti sunt jus legationis**  
 avenged the right, (and privileges) of-an-embassy (when)

violatum verbo; vos relinquetis legatum  
 violated (only) by-a-word; 'will you 'leave (unaverged) an ambassador  
 interfectum, omni supplicio? Videte, ne, ut  
 put-to-death, by-all (kinds of) torture? See-to-it, lest, as  
 fuit pulcherrimum illis, relinquere vobis tantam  
 it was a-most-illustrious (thing) for-them, to-leave to you so-great  
 gloriam imperii; sic sit  
 a glory of-empire (and such great renown); so it-may-be  
 turpissimum vobis, non posse tueri et  
 a-most-shameful (thing) for-you, not to-be-able to defend and  
 conservare, id, quod accepistis. Quid,  
 to preserve, that, which you-have-received (from them). What  
 quòd salus sociorum vocatur, in  
 (shall I say of this), that the safety of-the-allies is-placed in  
 summum periculum ac discrimen? Rex Ariobarzanes,  
 the greatest danger and hazard? King Ariobarzanes,  
 socius atque amicus Romani populi, expulsus est  
 the ally and friend of-the-Roman people, has-been-driven  
 regno; duo reges imminet toti Asiæ,  
 'from (his) 'kingdom; two kings threaten all Asia, (who are)  
 non solum inimicissimi vobis, sed etiam vestris sociis  
 not only most-hostile to-you, but also to-your allies  
 atque amicis; autem omnes civitates, cuncta Asia  
 and friends; but all the cities, entire Asia  
 atque Græcia, propter magnitudinem periculi,  
 and Greece, on-account-of the magnitude of-the-danger,  
 coguntur expectare vestrum auxilium;  
 are-forced to-expect (and wish for) your assistance;  
 arbitrantur neque audent deprecari certum  
 they-think (that) neither dare-they request a certain  
 imperatorem, a vobis, cum  
 (particular) commander, [namely, Pompey,] from you, when  
 præsertim vos miseritis alium, neque posse  
 especially you have-sent another, nor (suppose that) they-could  
 facere id, sine summo periculo.  
 do it, without the greatest danger (from the commander just  
 Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod  
 appointed). They-see and feel this same (thing), which

vos esse unum virum, in quo sint omnia  
 you (do, that) there-is one man, in whom are all  
 summa, et eum esse  
 the highest (qualities, for carrying on the war), and (that) he is  
 prope, (quo etiam carent ægrius),  
 near, (for which also they-desire (him) the-more-impatiently),  
 ipso adventu cujus, atque nomine  
 by this-self-same arrival of-him, and 'by (his) 'name,  
 tametsi ille venerit ad maritimum bellum,  
 although he came to a maritime war (against the pirates),  
 tamen intelligunt impetus hostium esse  
 yet they perceive (that) the attacks of-the-enemy were  
 repressos ac retardatos. Hi rogant vos  
 repressed and retarded. These (allies and friends) entreat you  
 tacite, quoniam  
 silently, because (through fear of offending the commander of the pro  
 non licet loqui libere, ut  
 vince) 'it-is not 'allowed (them) to speak freely (and openly), that  
 quoque existimetis se sicut dignos  
 you-would also 'consider them as worthy of your  
 socios ceterarum provinciarum, quorum  
 favours, as are the allies of-other provinces, whose  
 salutem commendetis tali viro: atque  
 safety you-may-have-confided to such a man (as Pompey): and  
 hoc etiam magis, quàm ceteros, quòd  
 for-this (reason) also the-more-so, than the others (are), because  
 mittimus homines ejusmodi in provinciam cum  
 we-send men of-that-sort into this province with (military  
 imperio, ut etiam si defendant  
 and civil) authority, (so) that though if they-defend (them)  
 ab hoste, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes  
 from the enemy, yet their arrival among the towns  
 sociorum non differant multum ab hostili  
 of-the-allies 'does not 'differ much from a hostile  
 expugnatione. Audiebant hunc antea, nunc  
 capture. They-heard (of) him before, now  
 vident præsentem, tantâ  
 they-see (him) present (among them), (a man) of-so-much

temperantiâ, tantâ mansuetudine, tantâ humanitate,  
 moderation, of-so-much mildness, of-so-much humanity  
 ut ii videantur esse beatissimi, apud quos  
 that those seem to be the-most-fortunate, among whom  
 ille commoratur diutissime.  
 he sojourns the-longest-time.

6. Quare, si vestri majores, propter socios,  
 Wherefore, if your ancestors, on account (of their) allies  
 ipsi lacesiti nullâ injuriâ, gesserunt  
 (although) themselves provoked by no injury, waged  
 bella cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ætolis,  
 wars with Antiochus, with Philip, with the Ætolians,  
 cum Pœnis; quanto studio convenit  
 with the Carthaginians; with-what zeal (therefore) does-it-become  
 vos, provocatos injuriis, defendere salutem  
 you, provoked by injuries, to-defend the-safety 'of (your)  
 sociorum, unâ cum dignitate vestri imperii;  
 'allies, together with the dignity of-your empire;  
 præsertim cum agatur de vestris maximis  
 especially when (the thing) agitated (is) about your greatest  
 vectigalibus? Nam vectigalia  
 (and most productive) revenues? For the revenues  
 ceterarum provinciarum, Quirites, sunt tanta  
 of-the-other provinces, O Romans, are (only) so-great  
 ut possimus vix esse contenti ad  
 that we-can scarcely be content (with them, as sufficient) for  
 tutandas provincias ipsas; Asia vero est tam  
 defending the provinces themselves; Asia indeed is so  
 opima et fertilis, ut facile antecellat omnibus  
 fertile and productive, that (it) easily excels all (other)  
 terris, et ubertate agrorum, et varietate  
 countries, both by-the-richness 'of (its) 'soil, and by-the-variety  
 fructuum, et magnitudine pastionis, et  
 'of (its) 'fruits, and by-the-extent 'of (its) 'pastures, and  
 multitudine earum rerum, quæ exportantur. Itaque,  
 by-the-multitude of-those things, which may-be-exported. Therefore,  
 Quirites, hæc provincia vobis, si vultis  
 O Romans, this province (belonging) to-you, if you-wish



sustinere, et utilitatem belli,  
to sustain (and defend), both (its) usefulness (in time) of war,

et dignitatem pacis, est non modò  
and (its) dignity (and ornament in time) of peace, is not only

defendenda calamitate, sed etiam a  
to-be-defended (by you) 'from (all) 'calamity, but also from

netu calamitatis. Nam in ceteris rebus, cum  
'even) the fear of calamity. For in other things, when

calamitas venit, tum detrimentum accipitur; at  
(any) calamity arrives, then damage is received; but

in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam  
in revenue-affairs not only the arrival of-evil, but also

metus ipse, affert calamitatem. Nam cum copiae  
the fear itself (of it), brings calamity. For when the forces

hostium non longe absunt, etiam si nulla  
of-the-enemy 'are not far 'distant, (and) also if no

irruptio sit facta, tamen pecora relinquuntur,  
inroad be made, however the flocks are-abandoned,

agricultura deseritur, navigatio mercatorum  
agriculture is-deserted, the navigation (and commerce) of-merchants

conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu,  
ceases-to-be-active. So (that) neither from port (duties on exports

neque ex decumis, neque  
and imports), nor from the tithes (on agricultural produce), nor

ex scripturâ potest vectigal conservari.  
from the pasturage-tax could (any) impost be preserved

Quare sæpe fructus totius anni  
(or obtained). Wherefore often the produce of-an-entire year

amittitur uno rumore periculi, atque uno  
is-lost by-a-single rumour of danger, and by-the-more

terrore belli. Tandem, quo animo  
fear of war. In-fine, in-what (state of) mind

existimatis aut eos esse, qui pensitant vectigalia  
do-you-think (that) either those are, who pay duties

nobis, aut eos qui exercent atque  
to-us, or those who (make it their business to) collect and

exigunt, cum duo reges cum maximis copiis  
exact (them), when two kings with very-large forces are

prope adsint? Cum una excursio equitatus possit.  
 nearly 'present? When one incursion of-cavalry may  
 perbreui tempore, auferre vectigal totius  
 in-a-very-short time, carry off the revenue of-the-whole  
 anni? Cum publicani arbitrentur, se  
 year? When the-farmers-of-the-revenue may-think, (that) they  
 habere magno periculo maximas familias,  
 maintain at-a-great risk very-great companies (of slaves).  
 quas habent in saltibus, quas in agris,  
 which they-have in the-forests, which (they have) in the-fields,  
 quas in portubus, atque custodiis?  
 which (they have) in the harbours, and in-the-custom-houses?  
 Ne putatis, vos posse frui illis rebus, nisi  
 Whether do-you-think, (that) you can enjoy those things, unless  
 conservaveritis eos, qui sunt fructui vobis (ut  
 you-preserve those who are (thus) useful to-you (as  
 dixi antea), non solum liberatos calamitate, sed  
 I-said before), not only freed from calamity, but  
 etiam formidine calamitatis?  
 also from-the-dread of calamity?

7. Ac illud quidem ne negligendum est vobis,  
 And that indeed 'is not 'to-be-neglected by you,  
 quod ego proposueram mihi extremum,  
 which I had-proposed to-myself (as) the-last-thing (to be men-  
 tioned), when I-might (come) to-speak, concerning the kind of-war,  
 quod pertinet ad bona multorum  
 (namely, that) which appertains to the property of-many  
 Romanorum civium; quorum, Quirites, pro  
 Roman citizens; of whose (interest), O Romans, in  
 vestrâ sapientiâ, ratio  
 your wisdom, a sentiment of regard (for their interests) 'is  
 diligenter habenda est vobis. Nam et  
 especially 'to-be-had by you. For also  
 publicani, et honestissimi et ornatissimi  
 the-farmers-of-the-revenue, both honourable and accomplished  
 homines, contulerunt suas rationes et copias in  
 men, have-transferred their means and wealth into

illam provinciam; res et fortuna quorum  
 that province; the property and fortune of these  
 ipsorum debent esse, per se, curæ  
 same (men) ought to-be, on-their-own-account, (an especial) care  
 vobis. Etenim si, semper duximus  
 to you. For if, (as) 'we-have always 'supposed  
 vectigalia esse nervos reipublicæ; certe  
 the revenues to-be the sinews of-the-republic; 'we certainly  
 diceremus esse recte, eum ordinem,  
 'may-be-said to be right, (when we assert, that), that order  
 qui exercent illa, esse  
 (of men, the equites), who follow-the-business-of-collecting them, are  
 firmamentum ceterorum ordinum. Deinde, gnavi  
 the support of-the-other orders. In-the-next-place, active  
 et industrii homines ex ceteris ordinibus,  
 and industrious men from the other orders, (that)  
 partim ipsi negotiantur in Asiâ, quibus, absentibus,  
 partly themselves traffic in Asia, who, being absent,  
 debetis consulere; partim habent magnas  
 you-ought to-take-care of; (and who) partly have great  
 pecunias suas, et suorum collocatas  
 sums-of-money (both) their-own, and (that) of-their-friends, placed  
 in eâ provinciâ. Igitur erit vestræ humanitatis,  
 in that province. Therefore it-will-be (a part) 'of your 'humanity,  
 prohibere magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate;  
 to-shield a great number of-those citizens from misfortune;  
 sapientiæ, videre calamitatem  
 (it will be a part of your) wisdom, to-perceive (that) the misfortune  
 multorum civium posse non esse sejunctam a  
 of-many citizens can not be separated from (that of)  
 republica. Etenim illud primum, refert parvi,  
 the republic. For that at-first, it-avails little, (that)  
 vos recuperare postea, victoriâ, vectigalia amissa  
 you recover hereafter, by-a-victory, the revenues lost  
 publicanis Neque enim, erit facultas  
 by-the-farmers-thereof. Nor also, will-there-be the means  
 iisdem redimendi,  
 with-these-same (farmers of the revenue) 'of (again) 'contracting-to-

propter calamitatem,

collect-the-revenue, on-account-of the calamity (of losing their property),

neque voluntas aliis, propter timorem.  
nor (will there be any) desire to others, on-account-of the fear

Deinde, quod eadem Asia, atque iste  
(of the risks). Next, that-which this-same Asia, and this

idem Mithridates docuit nos initio Asiatici  
very-same Mithridates taught us in-the-beginning of the Asiatic

belli; id quidem debemus certe retinere  
war; that indeed we-ought certainly to retain 'in (our)

memoriâ docti calamitate. Nam scimus tum,  
'memory taught by calamity. For we-know (that) then,

cum permulti amiserant magnas res, fidem concidisse  
when very-many had-lost large fortunes, credit fell

Romæ, solutione impeditâ. Enim multi  
at Rome, the payment (of debts) being hindered. For many

possunt non amittere rem atque fortunas in unâ  
can not lose (their) property and fortunes in a

civitate, ut non trahunt plures, cum se, in  
city, that 'they-do not 'draw many, with themselves, into

eandem calamitatem. A quo  
the same calamity (of loss of property and fortune). From which

periculo, prohibete rempublicam, et credite mihi  
misfortune, do-you-defend the republic, and believe me

(id quod ipsi videtis), hæc fides, atque  
(that which you-yourself perceive) (to be so), these credits, and

hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ versatur Romæ,  
this rate (and state) of-money-affairs, which are-practised at Rome,

quæ in foro, implicata est cum illis  
which (are also practised) in the forum, are-bound-up with those

Asiaticis pecuniis, et  
Asiatic sums of money (belonging to citizens of Rome), and

cohæret. Illa possunt non  
cling (to them). Those (sums of moneys, invested in Asia), can not

ruere, ut hæc, labefactata  
fall (and be lost), (but) that these (money affairs in Rome), being shaken

eodem motu, non concidant. Quare  
by-the-same motion, would not fall (with them). Wherefore

videte, num vobis dubitandum sit incumbere  
 consider, if you ought-to-doubt to-apply-yourselves  
 omni studio ad id bellum, in quo gloria vestri  
 with-all zeal to that war, in which the glory of-your  
 nominis, salus sociorum maxima vectigalia,  
 name, the safety 'of (your) 'allies, (your) greatest revenues,  
 fortunæ plurimorum civium, cum  
 (and) the fortunes of many citizens, with  
 republicâ defendantur.  
 the republic are defended (and protected).

8. Quoniam dixi de genere belli,  
 Because I-have-spoken concerning the nature of-the-war, 'I  
 nunc dicam pauca de magnitudine.  
 now 'will-say a few (words) concerning (its) magnitude.  
 Enim hoc potest dici; esse genus belli  
 For this may be-said (of it); (that it) is a kind of-war  
 ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; esse  
 so necessary, that it-is (absolutely) to-be-waged; (that) it-is  
 non ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo,  
 not so great, that it-may-be-greatly-feared. In which,  
 est maxime laborandum, ne forte ea  
 it-is principally to-be-sought-for (by me), lest by-chance those-things  
 videantur vobis esse contemnenda, quæ  
 may-seem to-you to-be despised, which 'are  
 diligentissime providenda sunt. Atque ut omnes  
 most-diligently 'to-be-provided-against. And that all  
 intelligant, me impertire L. Lucullo tantum  
 may-understand, (that) I grant to L. Lucullus so-much  
 laudis, quantum debeatur forti viro, et sapientissimo  
 of praise, as is due to-a-brave man, and to-a-very-wise  
 homini, et magno imperatori; dico, eju  
 man, and to-a-great general; I-say, (that) 'on hi  
 adventu, maximas copias Mithridates fuisse ornatas  
 arrival, the-very-great forces of-Mithridates were equipped  
 atque instructas, omnibus rebus; que  
 and supplied, with-all things (necessary for the war); and  
 urbem Cyzicenorum clarissimam Asiæ, que  
 (that) the town of-the-Cyzicenians the-most-celebrated of Asia, and



amicissimam nobis, obsessam esse ab rege ipso,  
the-most-friendly to-us, was-besieged by the king himself,

maximâ multitudine, et vehementissime  
with-a-very-great multitude (of troops) and most-violently

oppugnatum, quam L. Lucullus liberavit  
assaulted, which (town) L. Lucullus relieved

summis periculis obsidionis, virtute, assiduitate  
from-the-greatest dangers of-a-siege, 'by (his) 'valour, perseverance

consilio; ab eodem imperatore  
(and wise) counsel; (and that) by the same general (Lucullus)

magnam et ornatam classem superatam esse atque  
a large and well-equipped fleet was-defeated and

depressam, quæ, inflammata studio  
sunk, which, inflamed with-an-eager-desire (of vengeance),

raperetur ad Italiam Sertorianis ducibus;  
was-hurried-on towards Italy by Sertorian leaders;

præterea  
[officers belonging to Sertorius's party in Spain]; moreover (that)

magnas copias hostium deletas esse multis  
large forces of-the-enemy were-destroyed in-many

præliis; que Pontum patefactum esse nostris  
battles; and (that) Pontus was-opened to-our

legionibus, qui ante clausus esset Romano populo,  
legions, which before had-been-shut to-the-Roman people,

ex omni aditu; Sinopen atque Amisum, in  
on al' (its) approaches; that Sinope and Amisus, in

quibus oppidis, erant domicilia regis ornata atque  
which towns, were the palaces of-the-king adorned and

referta omnibus rebus; que permultas ceteras urbes  
filled with-all things; and very-many other townes

Ponti et Cappadociæ captas esse, uno aditu  
of-Pontus and of-Cappadocia were-taken, 'by (his) 'mere approach

atque adventu; regem spoliatum patria  
and arrival; (that) the king deprived 'of (his) 'paternal

atque avito regno, contulisse se supplicem ad  
and ancestral kingdom, betook himself a suppliant to

alios reges, atque ad alias gentes; atque omnia  
other kings, and to other nations; and (that) all

hæc gesta esse, sociis Romani populi salvis,  
this was-performed, the allies of-the-Roman people being-safe,

atque vectigalibus integris. Opinor  
and the revenues being entire (and undiminished). I-think

hoc esse satis laudis; atque ita,  
(that) this is enough of-praise; and so (delivered),

Quirites, ut vos intelligatis hoc L. Lucullum  
O Romans, that you may-understand this (that) L. Lucullus

laudatum esse similiter, ex hoc loco  
has-been-praised in-like-manner, from this place [the rostrum] by

nullo istorum, qui obtreçant huic legi atque  
none of-those, who object to-this law and

causæ.

cause (of giving the command to Pompey).

9. Fortasse nunc requiretur, quemadmodum  
Perhaps 'it-will now 'be-asked, how

cum hæc sint ita, magnum bellum possit esse  
when these-things are so, (that) a great war can be

reliquum. Cognoscite, Quirites; enim  
left (for us to wage). Know (then) O Romans; for

hoc videtur quæri non sine causâ. Primum  
this seems to-be-asked not without reason. First

Mithridates sic profugit ex suo regno, ut illa Medea  
Mithridates so fled from his kingdom, as that Medea

dicitur quondam profugisse ex eodem Ponto;  
is-said once to-have-fled from this-same Pontus;

quam, prædicant, in fugâ dissipavisse membra  
whom, they-say, in (her) flight had-strewed-about the limbs

sui fratris, in iis locis, qua parens  
of-her brother, in those places, where (her) father

persequeretur se, ut dispersa collectio eorum,  
might-follow-after her, that the dispersed collection of them,

que patrius mœror retardaret celeritatem  
and paternal grief might-retard the celerity

persequendi. Sic Mithridates fugiens,  
'of (his) 'pursuing (her). Thus Mithridates flying,

reliquit in Ponto omnem maximam vim auri  
left in Pontus all (that) very-great abundance of-gold"

atque argenti, que omnium pulcherrimarum  
 and of-silver, and of-all (those) most-beautiful  
 rerum, quas et acceperat a majoribus, et  
 things, which both he-had-inherited from (his) ancestors, and  
 ipse congesserat in suum regnum,  
 (which) he-himself had-collected-together in his kingdom,  
 direptas, superiore bello, ex totâ Asiâ. Dum  
 plundered, in-the-former war, from all Asia. While  
 nostri diligentius colligunt omnia hæc, rex  
 our-men diligently collect all these-things, the king  
 ipse effugit e manibus. Ita mœror  
 himself escaped out-of (their) hands. So (as) grief  
 retardavit illum in studio persequendi,  
 retarded him (the father of Medea), in the ardour of-pursuing, (so)  
 hos lætitiâ. Tigranes,  
 these (our soldiers were retarded) by-the-delight (of plunder). Tigranes,  
 Armenius rex, excepit hunc in illo timore et  
 the Armenian king, received him in this (his) alarm and  
 fugâ, que confirmavit diffidentem suis rebus, et  
 flight, and he-encouraged (him) despairing of-his affairs, and  
 erexit afflictum que recreavit  
 'cheered (him) 'up afflicted (and cast down), (and) he-solaced (him)  
 perditum. In cujus regnum, posteaquam  
 ruined, (with new hopes). In whose kingdom, after  
 L. Lucullus venit cum exercitu, plures gentes etiam  
 L. Lucullus arrived with the army, many nations also  
 concitatae sunt contra nostrum imperatorem. Enim  
 were-excited against our general. For  
 metus injectus erat iis nationibus, quas Romanus  
 fear was-inspired into those nations, whom the Roman  
 populus nunquam putavit, neque lacessendas  
 people 'had never 'thought, either (of) harassing  
 bello, neque tendandas. Erat etiam alia  
 y-war, or (of) attempting (to do so). There-was also another  
 gravis atque vehemens opinio, quæ pervaserat per  
 grave and vehement opinion, which had-prevailed through  
 animos barbararum gentium, nostrum exercitum  
 the minds of-the-barbarous nations, (that) our army

esse adductum in eas oras causâ diripendi  
was led into those countries, for-the-purpose of despoiling

locupletissimi, et religiosissimi fani. Ita multæ  
a-very-rich, and much-revered temple. So many

atque magnæ nationes concitabantur, quodam  
and great nations were-excited (against us), by-some

novo terrore ac metu. Autem etsi noster exercitus  
new terror and fear. But although our army

seperat urbem ex regno Tigranis, et usus erat  
had-taken a town in the kingdom of Tigranes, and had-obtained

secundis præliis, tamen commovebatur  
successful battles, however moved

nimiâ longinquitate locorum, ac desiderio  
by-the-very great distance of-the-places, and by-the-desire

suorum.

of their (friends and home, to which they wished to return). 'I-will

Non jam dicam plura hic; enim illud fuit extremum,  
not now 'say more here; for this was the extreme

ut magis maturus reditus quæreretur, ex  
(point, so) that a more speedy return was-sought-for, from

iis locis a nostris militibus, quàm longior processio.  
those places by our soldiers, than a farther advance

Autem Mithridates et confirmarat  
(desired.) But Mithridates 'had both revived (the confidence of)

suam manum, et juvabatur  
his-own (immediate) band (of followers), and he-was-aided

eorum, qui collegerant  
(and strengthened, by the assistance) of-those, who had assembled

se ex ejus regno, et magnis  
themselves (together) from his (own) kingdom, and by great

adventitiis copiis multorum regum et nationum.  
adventitious forces of-many kings and nations.

Jam accepimus hoc solere fere fieri sic,  
We-have already 'understood that it usually mostly happens so,

ut afflictæ fortunæ regum, facile alliciant ad  
that the fallen fortunes of-kings, easily entice on-account-of

misericiordiam opes multorum, que maxime  
pity (for them) the assistance of-many, and most-especially

eorum, qui sunt aut reges, aut vivunt in  
 of-those, who are either kings, or (who) live under  
 regno; quòd regale nomen videatur iis,  
 a-kingly-government; because the-royal name appears to-them,  
 esse magnum et sanctum. Itaque, victus,  
 to-be great and sacred. Therefore, (though) conquered  
 potuit efficere tantum, quantum unquam  
 he-could effect so-much (more), than 'he ever  
 ausus est optare incolumis. Nam  
 'dared to-hope-for (when) safe, (and in prosperity). For  
 cum recipisset se in suum regnum, fuit non  
 when he-had-returned to his kingdom, he-was not  
 contentus eo; quod acciderat ei  
 content (to remain quiet) there; (for) this had-happened to-him  
 præter spem, ut posteaquam  
 beyond (his) hopes, that after-that  
 pulsus erat; unquam attingeret  
 he-had-been-driven (out of his-kingdom); he-should-ever touch  
 illam terram, sed fecit impetum  
 that country (with his foot again), but he-made an attack  
 in vestrum clarum atque vitorem exercitum. Sinite  
 on your renowned and conquering army. Allow  
 me, Quirites, hoc loc (sicut poëtæ solent, qui  
 me, O Romans, in-this place (as the poets used (to do), who  
 scribunt Romanas res), præterire nostram  
 wrote (verses) on-Roman affairs), to pass-over our  
 calamitatem; quæ fuit tanta, ut non nuntius ex  
 calamity; which was so-great, that not a messenger from  
 prælio, sed rumor ex sermone  
 the battle (field), but rumour through the conversation (of men)  
 afferret eam ad aures L. Luculli.  
 brought this (news of our calamity) to the ears of L. Lucullus.  
 Hic in illo ipso malo, quæ gravissimâ offensione  
 Here in this same misfortune, and 'in (this) 'most-grievous disaster  
 belli, L. Lucullus, qui tamen potuisset fortasse  
 of-the-war, L. Lucullus, who yet might perhaps  
 mederi, ex parte iis incommodis, coactus vestre  
 have-remedied, in part those disasters, compelled by-your



jussu, quòd putavistis veteri exemplo,  
command, because you-thought, in accordance with-ancient example

modum statuendum diuturnitati imperii,  
(and principles), a term was-to-be-set (to) long-continued command,

dimisit partem militum, qui jam confecti erant  
he-discharged a part of-the-soldiers, who now had-completed

stipendiis, partem tradidit Glabroni.  
(their term-of-service, a part he-delivered-over to-Glabrio (his

successor). Prætereo multa consultò; sed vos  
I-pass-over many-things on-purpose; but you

perspicietis ea conjecturâ. Putetis  
may-perceive them by-conjecture. You-may-consider (therefore)

quantum illud bellum factum, quod potentissimi  
how-important: that war is-made, which most-powerful

reges conjungant, agitatae nationes  
kings unite-in, (which) agitated (and irritated) nations

renovant, integræ gentes suscipiant,  
renew, (which) the entire people-of-a-country undertake, (and of

vester novus imperator accipiat,  
which war) your new commander [Glabrio] receives

veterem exercitum pulso.  
(the command), the old army being repulsed.

10. Videor mihi fecisse satis multa verba,  
It seems to-me (that) I-have-made enough many words,

quare hoc bellum  
[that I have spoken enough,] (to show you) why this war

esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine  
might-be 'from (its) 'nature itself necessary, 'from (its) 'magnitude

periculosum; videatur restat, ut  
dangerous; it seems (that) it remains, that

dicendum esse, de imperatore diligendo ad id  
mention-ought-to-be-made, about the commander to-be-selected for this

bellum, ac præficiendo tantis rebus.  
war, and the entrusting (him with) such great affairs.

Utinam, Quirites, haberetis tantam copiam  
I-wish, O Romans, that-you-had so-great an abundance

fortium atque innocentium virorum, ut hæc vobis  
of-brave and honest men, that this your

deliberatio esset difficilis quemnam  
deliberation would-be difficult (in determining) whom

putaretis potissimum præficiendum  
you-might-consider most-especially (proper) to-be-entrusted

tantis rebus, ac tanto bello. Vero nunc  
with-such-great affairs, and with-so-great a war. But now

cum sit Cn. Pompeius unius, qui superarit  
when there is Cn. Pompey alone, who may-have-excelled

gloriam non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt,  
the glory not only of those men, who now are,

sed etiam memoriam antiquitatis, virtute;  
but also the-remembrance (of the men) of-antiquity, by (his) courage

quæ res est, quæ possit facere  
(and merits); what thing is (there then), which can occasion

dubium animum cujusquam, in hac causâ? Enim ego  
a doubt in-the-mind of-any-one, in this case? For

existimo sic, in summo imperatore, has quatuor  
consider thus, (that) in a great general, these four

res oportere inesse, scientiam militaris  
things are-necessary (for him) to-be-possessioned-of, the-science of military

rei, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.  
affairs, valour, the authority (of renown), (and) good-fortune

Quis igitur fuit aut unquam scientior,  
Who therefore was either ever more-skilled (in military affairs),

aut debuit esse hoc homine? qui e ludo,  
or ought to-have-been (than) this man? who from school,

atque disciplinâ pueritiæ, profectus est ad exercitum  
and the instruction 'of (his) 'youth, went to the army

patris, atque in disciplinam  
'of (his) 'father, and for (the purpose of receiving) instruction (in)

militiæ; maximo bello,  
military affairs; (there being then) a-very-great war, [the social war,]

atque acerrimis hostibus; qui extremâ  
and most-active enemies; (he,) who (thus) at the close (of his)

pueritiâ fuit miles summi imperatoris, ineunte  
boyhood was a soldier of-a-consummate commander, on entering

adolescentiâ, ipse imperator maximi  
the age of) a-young-man, (was) himself the commander of-a-very-great

exercitûs; qui sæpius conflixit cum hoste,  
 army; who 'had more often 'fought with (the public) foe,

quàm quisquam concertavit cum inimico,  
 than any-one had-contended with (a private) enemy.

gessit plura bella, quàm ceteri legerunt,  
 had-waged more wars, than others had-read-of,

confecit plures provincias, quàm alii  
 had-settled-the-affairs (of) more provinces, than there

concupiverunt; cujus adolescentia erudita est ad  
 had-longed-for; whose youth was-trained to

scientiam militaris rei non præceptis alienis,  
 the knowledge of-military affairs not by-the-precepts (of) others,

sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli,  
 but by his 'commands (of armies), not by-the-disasters of war,

sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis.  
 but by-victories, not by-campaigns, but by-triumphs.

Denique, quod genus belli potest esse, in quo  
 In-fine, what kind of-war can there-be, in which

fortuna reipublicæ non exercuerit illum?  
 the-good-fortune of-the-republic 'may not 'have-exercised him,

Civile,

(and given him an opportunity, to display his abilities)? The civil (war),

Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense,  
 the African (war), the Transalpine (war), the Spanish (war),

mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex  
 a mixed (war, composed) of states (revolted from Rome), and of

bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum,  
 the most-warlike nations, the servile (war), the-naval war

varia et diversa genera, et bellorum  
 (against the pirates), various and diverse kinds, both of wars

et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno,  
 and of enemies, 'were not only 'waged by this one (man),

sed etiam confecta; declarant esse  
 but also terminated (successfully); they-assert (that) there is

nullam rem positam in militari usu, quæ  
 so thing laid-down (or established) in military practice which

possit fugere scientiam hujus viri.  
 could escape the knowledge of-this man.

11. Vero jam, quæ oratio potest inveniri par  
 But now, what language can be found equal  
 virtuti Cn. Pompeii? quid est, quod  
 to-the (military) 'virtue of-Cn. Pompey? what is there, which  
 quisquam possit afferre aut dignum illo, aut novum  
 any-one can announce either worthy of-him, or new  
 vobis, aut inauditum cuiquam? Enim neque sunt  
 to you, or unheard-of by-any-one? For neither are  
 illæ solæ virtutes imperatoris, quæ vulgo  
 those the only virtues of-a-commander, which 'are commonly  
 existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo  
 'considered (as such), (namely), industry in business, fortitude  
 in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in  
 in danger, energy in acting, rapidity in  
 conficiendo, consilium in providendo;  
 executing, (wise) counsel in foreseeing, (and providing against  
 quæ sunt tanta in hoc uno quanta  
 events); which (all) are so-great in this one (man) as  
 non fuerunt in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos  
 never were in all other commanders, whom  
 aut vidimus, aut audivimus. Italia est testis  
 'we-have either 'seen, or heard-of. It's, is a witness  
 quam, L. Sulla ipse, ille victor, confessus est,  
 (of this), which, L. Sulla himself, that conqueror, confessed,  
 liberatam virtute et subsidio hujus. Sicilia  
 was-delivered by-the-valour and assistance of him. [Pompey.] Sicily  
 est testis, quam cinctam undique multis  
 is a witness, which surrounded on-all-sides by-many  
 periculis, explicavit, non terrore belli, sed  
 dangers, he-delivered, not by-the-terror of-war, but  
 celeritate consilii. Africa est  
 by-the-celerity 'of (his) 'deliberations (and operations). Africa is  
 testis, quæ oppressa magnis copiis  
 witness, which oppressed (and overwhelmed) by-the-great forces  
 hostium, redundavit sanguine eorum ipsorum.  
 of-the-enemy, the country overflowed with-the-blood of-these same  
 Gallia est testis, per quam, iter in  
 (enemies). Gaul is a-witness, through which, a road into

Hispaniam patefactum est nostris legionibus,  
Spain was-opened for-our legions,

internecione Gallorum. Hispania est testis, quæ  
by-the-massacre of-the-Gauls. Spain is a-witness, which

sæpissime conspexit plurimos hostes superatos,  
very-often has-seen (our) many enemies overcome,

que prostratos ab hoc. Italia est sæpius et  
and prostrated by this (man). Italy is often and

iterum testis, quæ cum premeretur tetro,  
again a witness, which when it-was-hard-pressed by-the-disgraceful,

que periculoso servili bello, expetivit auxilium ab  
and dangerous servile war, requested aid from

hoc absente; quod bellum attenuatum est atque  
him absent; which war was-weakened and

imminutum expectatione Pompeii, adventu  
diminished by-the-expectation of Pompey, 'by (his) 'arrival (it)

sublatum ac sepultum. Vero jam omnes  
was-done-away-with and buried. But now all

oræ, atque omnes exteræ gentes ac nationes,  
the coasts, and all foreign people and nations,

denique omnia maria, tum universa, tum in  
in-fine all the-seas, as-well collectively, as in

singulis, omnes sinus atque portus, testes. Enim  
particular, all the bays and harbours, (are) witnesses. For

quis locus, toto mari, habuit aut tam  
what place, in-all (the Mediterranean) sea, had either so

firmum præsidium, ut esset  
strong a protection, (and was so strongly fortified), that it-might-be

tutus, aut fuit tam abditus, ut  
safe (from the attacks of the pirates), or was so concealed, that

lateret? Quis navigavit, qui  
it-might-be-hidden (from them)? Who made-a-voyage, by-sea, that 'did

non committeret se, aut periculo mortis, aut  
not 'expose himself, either to-the-danger of death, or

servitutis, cum mari navigaretur, aut hieme, aut  
of slavery, when the sea was-to-be-navigated, either in-winter, or

referto prædonum? Quis unquam  
full of pirates (in summer)? Who ever



arbitraretur hoc tantum bellum, tam  
 could-have-supposed (that) this so-great a war, so

turpe, tam vetus, tam late dispersum, posse  
 disgraceful, so old, (and) so widely dispersed, could

confici, aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno  
 be-terminated, either by all the generals in-one

anno, aut ab uno imperatore omnibus annis?  
 year, or by one general in-all the years (of his life).

Quam provinciam tenuistis liberam a prædonibus,  
 What province have-you-kept free from pirates,

per hosce annos? quod vectigal fuit  
 through these-here (late) years? what (source of) revenue was

tutum vobis? quem socium defendistis? cui  
 safe for-you? what ally have-you-defended? to-whom

fuistis præsidio vestris classibus? quàm  
 were-you a guard (and defence) with-your fleets? how

multas insulas existimatis esse desertas? quàm  
 many islands do-you-suppose to-have-been deserted? how

multas urbes sociorum aut relictas metu,  
 many cities of-the-allies 'have either 'been-left through-fear,

aut captas prædonibus?  
 or captured by-the-pirates?

12. Sed quid ego commemoro longinqua?

But why 'do I 'make-mention-of distant (things).

Hoc fuit quondam, fuit proprium Romani  
 This was formerly, (this) was the peculiarity of-the-Roman

populi bellare longe a domo, et defendere  
 people to-carry-on-war far from home, and to protect

fortunas sociorum, propugnaculis imperii,  
 the fortunes 'of (their) allies, by-all-the-defences-and-arms of-the-empire,

non sua tecta Ego dicam,  
 (and) not (to contend for) their houses (and homes). I say, (that)

mare, per hosce annos, fuisse clausum vestris  
 the sea, during these-latter years, has-been closed to-your

sociis, cum nostri exercitus nunquam  
 allies, when our (own) armies 'have never

transmiserint a Brundisio, nisi summâ  
 'crossed-over (the sea) from Brundisium, unless in-the-depth (of)

hieme? Querar qui, ab exteris  
winter? May-I (not) complain, (when those) who, from foreign

nationibus venirent ad vos, captos, cum legati  
nations were-coming to you, were-captured, when the ambassadors

Romani populi redempti sint? dicam  
of-the-Roman people had-to-be-ransomed? may-I (not) say, (that)

mare fuisse non tutum mercatoribus, cum  
the sea was not safe for-the-merchants, when

duodecim secures pervenerint in  
the twelve axes (of two prætors) had-come into

potestatem prædonum? Commemorem Cnidum aut  
the power of-the-pirates? Need-I-mention Cnidus or

Colophonem, aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, que  
Colophon, or Samos, most-noble cities, and

innumerabiles alias captas esse, cum  
innumerable others (all) captured (by the pirates), when

sciatis vestros portus, atque eos portus, quibus  
you know your-own harbours, and these harbours, from-which

ducitis vitam et spiritum,  
you-draw life and breath, [from which you derive the means of

fuisse in potestate prædonum? An vero,  
sustenance,] were in the power of-the-pirates? Or indeed,

ignoratis celeberrimum portum Caietæ.  
are-you-ignorant (that) the-very-celebrated harbour of Caieta,

atque plenissimum navium, direptum esse a  
and (then) very-full of-ships, was-plundered by

prædonibus, prætore inspectante? Autem  
the pirates, a (Roman) prætor looking-on? But

ex Miseno liberos ejus ipsius, qui  
(that also) from Misenum the child of-that same (person), who

antea ibi gesserat bellum cum prædonibus,  
before 'had there 'waged war with the pirates,

sublatos esse a prædonibus? Nam quid ego  
was carried-off by the pirates? For why 'may I (not)

querar Ostiense incommodum, atque illam labem  
complain (of) the Ostian disaster, both that stain

atque ignominiam reipublicæ, cum, vobis prope  
and ignominy of-the-republic, when, you almost

inspectantibus, ea classis, cui consul Romanus  
 looking-on, that fleet, over-which a consul of-the-Roman  
 populi præpositus eset, capta atque oppressa est  
 people was-placed, was-taken and destroyed  
 a prædonibus? Pro immortales dii! Ne potui.  
 by-the-pirates? By the immortal Gods! How could  
 incredibilis, ac divina virtus unius hominis  
 he incredible, and divine virtue (and courage) of-one man  
 affere tantam lucem reipublicæ  
 [Pompey] bring such-great light (and safety) to-the-republic.  
 tam brevi tempore, ut vos, qui modo videbatis  
 in so 'short a time, that you, who not-long-since saw  
 classem hostium ante ostium Tiberinum,  
 the fleet of-the-enemy before the mouth (of the) Tiber  
 nunc audiat esse nullam navem prædonum  
 now hear (that) there-is no ship of-the-pirates  
 intra ostium Oceani? Atque  
 within the straits of-the Ocean? [within the straits of Gibraltar?] And  
 quanquam videtis quâ celeritate, hæc  
 although you-see with-what rapidity, these (things)  
 gesta sint, tamen non prætereunda sunt  
 may-have-been-done, however 'they-are not 'to-be-passed-over  
 a me, in dicendo. Enim quis unquam, aut  
 by me, in (my) discourse. For who ever, either  
 studio obeundi negotii, aut consequendi  
 with-the-desire of transacting business, or of-seeking-after  
 quæstus, potuit, tam brevi tempore, adire tot  
 gain, could, 'in so 'short a time, visit so-many  
 loca, conficere tantos cursus, quam  
 places, (and could have) performed such (long) voyages, as  
 celeriter impetus belli navigavit,  
 rapidly (as) the impetuosity of war navigated (the deep),  
 Cn. Pompeio duce? qui, mari nondum  
 Cn Pompey being leader? who, the sea 'not (being as) 'yet  
 tempestivo ad navigandum, adiit Siciliam,  
 in-a-proper-state for navigation, sailed (to) Sicily,  
 exploravit Africam; inde venit cum classe  
 explored (the coast of) Africa; thence he-came with the fleet

Sardiniam, atque munivit hæc tria frumentaria  
to Sardinia, and he fortified these three granaries

subsidia reipublicæ, firmissimis præsiidiis que classibus.  
of the republic, with-very-strong garrisons and with-fleets.

Inde cum recepisset se in Italiam, duabus Hispaniis  
Thence when he-had-returned into Italy, the two Spains

et Cisalpinâ Galliâ confirmatâ præsiidiis ac  
and Cisalpine Gaul being-strengthened by-garrisons and

navibus, item missis navibus in oram Illyrici  
by-ships, also having-sent ships unto the coast of the Illyrican

maris, et in Achaïam que omnem Græciam.  
sea, and unto Achaia and all Greece,

adornavit duo maria Italiæ maximis classibus  
he-furnished the two seas of Italy with-very-large fleets

que firmissimis præsiidiis; autem ipse adjunxit  
and very-strong garrisons; but he-himself added

totam Ciliciam ad imperium Romani populi,  
all Cilicia to the empire of-the-Roman people,

undequinquagesimo die, ut profectus est Brundisio;  
on-the-forty-ninth day, after he-had-left Brundisium;

omnes prædones, qui, ubique fuerunt,  
all the pirates, who, in-whatever-place they-were, 'were

partim capti sunt que interfecti, partim dederunt  
partly 'captured and killed, partly they-surrendered

se imperio ac potestati hujus unius.  
themselves to-the-command and power of this one (man).

Idem Cretensibus,

[They unconditionally surrendered to Pompey.] Also to-the-Cretans,

cum misissent legatos que deprecatores ad  
(who) when they-had-sent ambassadors and intercessors to

eum, in Pamphyliam usque non ademit  
him, to Pamphylia, 'he-even did not take-from (them,

spem deditionis, que imperavit  
the hope (of receiving their) submission, and he-commanded

obsides. Ita Cn. Pompeius extremâ  
(them to give) hostages. Thus Cn. Pompey at-the-end (of)

hieme apparavit, ineunte vere, suscepit,  
winter prepared for, at-the-commencement (of) spring, undertook,

mediâ æstate confecit, tantum bellum  
 y-the-middle of summer terminated, (this) so-great a war (of)  
 tam diuturnum, tam longe que late dispersum, quo  
 such long-duration, so far and wide spread-out, by which  
 bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur.  
 war all people and nations were oppressed.

13. Hæc virtus imperatoris, est  
 This virtue (and talent of this) commander, is  
 divina atque incredibilis. Quid? ceteræ  
 divine and incredible. What? (his) other (virtues)  
 quas paullo ante cœperam commemorare, quantæ  
 which a little before I-began to mention, how-great  
 atque quam multæ sunt? enim non solum virtus  
 and how numerous they-are? for not only the virtue  
 bellandi querenda est in summo atque  
 and talent) of-carrying-on-war are-required in a great and  
 perfecto imperatore, sed sunt multæ eximiæ artes  
 perfect commander, but there are many eminent qualities  
 administræ que comites hujus virtutis.  
 the-hand-maids and companions of this (military) virtue (and talent).  
 Ac primùm, quanta innocentia debent  
 And firstly, how-much honesty (and purity) ought  
 imperatores esse? deinde quanta temperantia in  
 commanders to-have? then how-much moderation in  
 omnibus rebus? quanta fides,  
 all things? how-great the-faith (and confidence that may

quantâ facilitate? quanto  
 be placed in them), how-very (easy of) access? how-great (their)  
 ingenio? quanta humanitate?  
 genius (and good disposition)? how-great (their) humanity?  
 quæ breviter consideremus, qualia sint  
 which (qualities) 'let-us briefly 'consider, how they-may-be  
 n Cn. Pompeio. Enim omnia  
 n, (or may be appropriate to), Cn. Pompeius. For all

sunt summa, Quirites, sed ea possunt  
 are (of) the highest (degree in him), O Romans, but these may  
 magis cognosci atque intelligi, ex contentione  
 better be known and understood, from comparison (with



aliorum, quam ipsa per sese. Enim quem  
others, than they by themselves. For whom

possumus putare aliquo in numero  
can-we reckon in-any (manner) among the number

imperatorum, in cuius exercitu, veneant  
of-generals, in whose army, they-may-sell

centuriatus, atque venierint? quid  
the-office-of-centurion, and may-have-sold (it)? how (can we suppose

hunc hominem cogitare magnum, aut amplum,  
that) that man thinks (in) a great, or (in) a noble,

de republicâ, qui aut  
and lofty (manner) concerning the republic, who 'may-have either

diviserit pecuniam depromptam ex ærario  
'distributed the money taken-out from the-public-treasury

ad administrandum bellum, magistratibus, propter  
to carry-on the war, among the magistrates, on-account-of

cupiditatem provinciæ, aut,  
a desire (to retain the command) 'of (his) 'province, or,

propter avaritiam, reliquerit Romæ, in  
on-account-of avarice, may-have-left (the money) at Rome, at

quæstu? Vestra admurmuratio, Quirites, facit,  
interest? Your murmurs, O Romans, make (it appear),

ut videamini agnoscere, qui fecerint hæc; autem  
that you-seem to-recognise, who may-have-done this; but

ego nomino neminem; quare nemo poterit irasci  
I mention no-one; wherefore no-one may get-angry

mihi, nisi qui ante voluerit confitere  
(with) me, unless (he) who beforehand might-wish to-confess

de se. Itaque quis  
concerning himself, (that he has committed such faults). Therefore who

ignorat quantas calamitates, nostri exercitus  
is ignorant how-many calamities, our armies

ferant, quocunque ventum sit,  
may-have-brought, in-whatever-place (they may) arrive,

propeter hanc avaritiam imperatorum?  
on-account-of this avarice, (and rapacity) 'of (our) 'generals?

Recordamini itinera, quæ, per hosce annos,  
Recollect the marches, which, during these-latter years

nostri imperatores fecerunt in Italiâ, per agros  
 our commanders made in Italy, through lands  
 atque oppida Romanorum civium, tum  
 and towns of Roman citizens, then you-will  
 facilius statuetis, quid existimetis fieri apud  
 the-more-easily 'determine, what you-may-think is-done among  
 exterâs nationes. Utrum arbitramini, per  
 foreign nations. Whether do-you-think, (that) during  
 hosce annos, plures urbes hostium deletas esse  
 these-latter years, more towns of-the-enemy have-been-destroyed  
 armis vestrorum militum, an civitates sociorum  
 by-the-arms of-your soldiers, or cities of (your) allies  
 in hibernis? Enim neque potest  
 in the winter-quarters (of your soldiers)? For neither can  
 is imperator continere exercitum, qui non  
 that commander restrain (his) army, who 'does not  
 continet se ipsum; neque esse severus in  
 'restrain himself; nor can he be strict in  
 judicando, qui non vult alios esse  
 judging (of others), who 'does not 'wish (to have) others to-be  
 severos judices in se. Hic miramur hunc  
 strict judges over himself. Here let-us-admire this  
 hominem, tantum excellere ceteris, cujus  
 man, [Pompey,] so-much excelling (all) others, whose  
 legiones pervenerunt sic in Asiam, ut  
 legions arrived (in that state of discipline) in Asia, that  
 non modo manus tanti exercitûs, sed  
 not only (not) the hand (of any one) of-so-great an army, but  
 ne quidem vestigium dicatur nocuisse cuiquam  
 not even the footstep may-be-said to-have-injured any  
 pacato? Vero jam, quotidie sermones ac  
 peaceable (person)? But now, daily reports and  
 literæ perferuntur, quemadmodum milites  
 letters are-brought (to us), how the soldiers  
 hibernent. Non modo vis  
 conduct-themselves-in-winter-quarters. Not only (that) force  
 affertur nemini, ut faciat sumptum in  
 is 'applied to-no-one, that he-should-make expensæ in (maintaining)

militem; sed ne quidem permittitur cuiquam  
a soldier; but this is not even allowed to any one

cupienti. Enim nostri majores voluerunt,  
wish/ag (to do so). For our ancestors desired, (that)

in tectis sociorum atque amicorum, esse  
in the-houses 'of (our) 'allies and friends, (there ought) to-be

perfugium hiemis, non avaritiæ.  
a refuge (from the severity) of-winter, not (a place) of-rapacity.

14. Age vero, considerate qualis sit  
But now, consider what may-be (his)

temperantia in ceteris rebus. Unde putatis  
moderation in other things. Whence do-you-suppose

inventum illam tantam celeritatem, et tam  
originated that so-great celerity, and such

incredibilem cursum? Enim non eximia  
incredibl (expeditious) voyages? For no extraordinary

vis remigum, aut quædam inaudita  
strength (or skill) of-the-rowers, or any (hitherto) unheard-of

ars gubernandi, aut aliqui novi venti,  
skill of-steering-a-vessel, or any new winds, (that)

pertulerunt illum tam celeriter in ultimas  
carried him so swiftly unto the-most-distant

terras: sed hæ res, quæ solent remorari ceteros  
lands: but those things, which used to retard other

non retardarunt; avaritia non  
(commanders) 'did not 'retard (him); avarice 'did not

devocavit ab instituto cursu ad aliquam  
'call (him) 'away from (his) intended route to any

prædam, non libido ad voluptatem, non amœnitas  
plunder, no lust to pleasure, no charms

ad delectationem, non nobilitas  
(of a place enticed him) to the enjoyment (of it), no renown

urbis ad cognitionem, denique.  
of-a-city (induced him) to become-acquainted (with it), in-fine,

non labor ipse ad quietem. Postremo  
not labour itself to (indulge in) repose. Lastly

signa et tabulas, quæ cetera ornamenta Græcorum  
the-statues and pictures, and the other ornaments of Greek

**oppidorum,** **quæ** **ceteri** **arbitrantur**  
 towns, which other (commanders) suppose  
**tollenda esse,** **ille** **quidem** **existimavit,** **ea**  
 might-be-taken-away, he indeed thought, (that) they  
**ne visenda** **sibi.** **Itaque nunc quidem,**  
 they-ought not 'to-be-seen by-him. Therefore now indeed  
**omnes in his locis intuentur** **Cn. Pompeium, sicut**  
 all in those places look-upon Cn. Pompey, as  
**aliquem non missum ex hac urbe, sed**  
 some-one not sent from this city, but (as one)  
**delapsum de cœlo; nunc denique incipiunt credere**  
 descended from heaven; now at-length they-begin to-believe  
**fuisse quando homines Romanos,**  
 (that) there-had-been once (such) men (among) the Romans,  
**hac abstinentiâ; quod jam**  
 (thus distinguished) by that moderation; which (until) now  
**videbatur incredibile exteris nationibus, ac falsò**  
 appeared incredible to foreign nations, and falsely  
**proditum memoriæ.** **Nunc splendor vestri**  
 transmitted to-the-memory (of posterity). Now the splendour of your  
**imperii lucet illis gentibus. Nunc, non sine**  
 empire shines (on) these nations. Now, not without  
**causâ, intelligunt, suos majores tum, cum**  
 reason, they-understand, (that) their ancestors then, when  
**habeamus magistratus hac temperantiâ,**  
 we-had magistrates (distinguished) by such temperance,  
**maluisse servire Romano populo, quàm imperare**  
 would-rather serve the Roman people, than command  
**aliis. Jam vero, aditus ad eum privatorum**  
 others. Now indeed, access to him (by) private-persons  
**dicuntur esse ita faciles, ita liberæ,**  
 is-said to-be so easy, and so unrestrained (are)  
**querimoniarum de injuriis aliorum, ut is, qui**  
 the complaints of the injuries of others (received), that he, who  
**exœllit principibus dignitate, facilitate,**  
 excels the-first-and-highest (of men) in dignity, in affability,  
**videatur esse par infimis. Jam quantum**  
 seems to-be on-a-par with-the-lowest. Now how-much

valeat consilio, quantum gravitate  
 he-prevails 'by (his wise) 'counsel, how-much 'by-the 'weight  
 et copiâ dicendi, in quo ipso, inest  
 and copiousness of (his) speaking, in which same, there-exists  
 quædam imperatoria dignitas, vos, Quirites,  
 a certain commanding dignity, (which) you, O Romans,  
 sæpe cognoscitis, in hoc ipso loco. Vero  
 often experience, in this same place. [The forum.] But  
 quantam putatis ejus fidem existimari inter  
 how-great do-you-think his (good) faith was-estimated among  
 socios, quam hostes omnium gentium  
 the allies, which the enemies of-all nations [the pirates]  
 judicarint sanctissimam? Jam tantâ  
 may-have-judged (to be) most-sacred? Now by-such-great  
 humanitate est, ut sit difficile dictu, utrum  
 humanity it is (so), that it-may-be difficult to-say, whether  
 hostes timuerint ejus virtutem magis,  
 the enemy may-have-feared his valour more, (when)  
 pugnantes, an dilexerint mansuetudinem  
 fighting, or have-loved (his) mildness (more, when they  
 victi. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin  
 were) conquered. And 'will any-one 'doubt, but-that  
 tantum bellum transmittendum sit, huic  
 so-great a war (as the Mithridatic) may-be-entrusted to-him,  
 qui videatur natus esse quodam divino consilio  
 who may seem to-have-been-born by-some divine counsel  
 ad conficienda omnia bella nostræ  
 to the (successfully) finishing all the wars of our (present)  
 memoriæ?  
 recollection (and time)?

15. Et quoniam auctoritas valet multum, quoque  
 And because great-reputation avails much, as-well  
 in administrandis bellis, atque in militari imperio,  
 in carrying-on war, as in military command,  
 certe est dubium nemini, quin ea re,  
 there certainly is (no) doubt to-any-one, but-that in-this affair,  
 ille idem imperator possit plurimum. Autem quis  
 that same commander can-do much. But who



ignorat, vehementer pertinere ad administranda  
is ignorant, (that) it strictly belongs to the conducting

bella, quid hostes, quid socii existiment de  
(of) war, what the enemy, what the allies may think about

vestris imperatoribus, cum sciamus, homines  
your commanders, when we-know, (that) men

commoveri in tantis rebus, ut aut  
are-moved (and excited) in such-great affairs, that either

contemnant aut metuant, aut oderint aut ament,  
they-may-despise or fear, or may-hate or love (them),

non minus opinione et famâ, quàm aliquâ certâ  
not less by-opinion and by-report, than by-any certain

ratione? Quod nomen igitur fuit unquam  
reason (and grounds)? What name therefore was ever

clarius in orbe terrarum? cujus  
more-celebrated (than Pompey's) in the world? whose

res gestæ pares? id quod maxime  
exploits (have been) equal (to his)? (and) that which most-greatly

facit ad auctoritatem; de quo homine  
contributes to his authority (and dignity); of what man

vos fecistis tanta et tam præclara iudicia?  
'have you 'made so-great and so illustrious judgments?

An vero putatis esse usquam ullam  
Or indeed do-you-think (that) there-was any-where any

oram tam desertam, quo fama illius diei  
region so deserted, in-which the renown of-that day 'may

non pervaserit; cum universus Romanus populus,  
not 'have-penetrated; when the-entire Roman people,

foro referto, que omnibus templis repletis,  
the forum being-full, and all the temples being-filled,

ex quibus hic locus potest conspici, depoposcit sibi  
from which this place might be-seen, demanded for themselves

Cn. Pompeium unum, imperatorem ad commune  
Cn. Pompey alone, (as) commander for the common

bellum omnium gentium? Itaque,  
war of-all nations? [The war against the pirates?] Therefore

ut non dicam plura, neque confirmem exemplis  
that 'I may not 'say more, nor confirm by-the-example

aliorum, quantum auctoritas valeat in  
 of others, how-much authority prevails (and has influence) in  
 bello; exempla omnium egregiarum rerum  
 war; the examples of-all eminent exploits  
 sumantur ab eodem Cn. Pompeio; die  
 are-to-be-taken from this-same Cn. Pompey; on-the-day  
 quo, qui præpositus est maritimo bello a vobis  
 in-which, he was-placed-over the maritime war by you as  
 imperator, repente tanta vilitas annonæ  
 commander, suddenly so-great a cheapness of provisions  
 consecuta est, ex summâ inopiâ et caritate  
 followed, from the greatest want and dearth  
 frumentariæ rei, spe unius  
 of corn, by-the-hope (and confidence placed in) one  
 hominis, et nomine quantam  
 man, and (by-the renown of his) name 'such (cheapness) 'as  
 vix diuturna pax potuisset efficere, ex summâ  
 scarcely a long peace could-have effected, from the greatest  
 ubertate agrorum. Jam, calamitate in  
 fertility of-the-fields. Yet-now-more, the (great) calamity in  
 Ponto acceptâ, ex eo proelio, de quo paullo  
 Pontus being-sustained (by us), by that battle, of which a little  
 ante, invitus admonui vos, cum socii  
 before, 'I unwilling 'admonished you, when (our) allies  
 pertinuissent, opes que animi hostium  
 were-greatly-alarmed, (when) the powers and spirits of-the-enemy  
 crevissent, provincia haberet non satis  
 had-increased, (when) the province had not a sufficiently  
 firmum præsidium; amisissetis Asiam, Quirites,  
 strong defence; you-might-have-lost Asia (then), O Romans,  
 nisi fortuna Romani populi divinitus  
 unless the good fortune of-the-Roman people 'had providentially  
 attulisset Cn. Pompeium, id ipsum temporis, ad  
 'brought Cn. Pompey, at-that same time, into  
 eas regiones. Adventus hujus et continuit  
 those regions. The arrival of-this (man), both checked  
 Mithridatem inflammatum insolitâ victoriâ, et  
 Mithridates flushed with-unwonted victory and

retardavit Tigranem minitantem Asiæ, magnis  
retarded Tigranes threatening Asia, with-great

copiis. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid  
forces. And 'will any-one 'doubt, what

perfecturus sit virtute, qui perfecerit  
he-may-accomplish 'by (his) 'virtue (and bravery), who has-accomplished

tantum auctoritate? aut quam facile  
so-much 'by (his) 'authority (and reputation)? or how easily

conservaturus sit socios et vectigaliâ,  
'will (not) 'he-preserve (our) allies and revenues,

imperio atque exercitu, qui  
by (his) 'command (and authority) and 'by (his) army, who

defenderit ipso nomine ac rumore?  
has-defended (them) by-his-very name and renown?

16. Vero age, illa res declarat quantum  
But come, 'does (not) this thing 'declare how-great

auctoritatem ejusdem hominis apud hostes  
(was) the authority of-this-same man among the enemies

Romani populi, quod ex locis tam  
of-the-Roman people, (namely,) that from places so

longinquis, que tam diversis,  
distant, and so different (in their institutions, and far from

tam brevi tempore omnes dediderunt  
one another), 'in so 'short a time all had-surrendered

se huic uni? quod legati Cretensium,  
themselves to this one (man)? that the ambassadors of-the-Cretans,

cum esset in eorum insulâ noster imperator que  
when there was in their island our commander and

exercitus, venerunt ad Cn. Pompeium, in prope  
army, came to Cn Pompey, unto nearly

ultimas terras, que dixerunt,  
the-most-distant countries (of the world), and said, (that

omnes civitates Cretensium velle dedere se  
all the cities of-the-Cretans wished to-surrender themselves

ei? Quid iste idem Mithridates? nonne  
to-him? What (did) this same Mithridates (do)? 'did-he not

misit legatum ad eundem Cn. Pompeium usque in  
'send as ambassador to the same Cn. Pompey even to

Hispaniam? eum quem Pompeius semper  
Spain? he whom Pompey 'has always

judicavit legatum; ii, quibus erat semper  
'considered (as) an ambassador; those, to-whom it-was always

molestum, esse potissimum  
an annoyance, that (this ambassador) 'should-be more especially

missum ad eum, maluerunt judicari  
'sent to him, [Pompey,] would-rather (have him) to be thought

speculatorem, quàm legatum. Potestis jam  
a spy, than an ambassador. You-may now

igitur, Quirites, constituere quantum existimetis  
therefore, O Romans, determine how-much you may think

hanc auctoritatem amplificatum, multis  
that this authority (and influence) augmented, by-many

rebus gestis postea, que vestris magnis  
exploits afterwards (performed), and by-your great

judiciis,  
(and solemn) judgments (and opinions expressed in his favour),

valituram esse apud illos reges, quantum apud  
will-avail with those kings, (and) how-much with

exteras nationes.  
foreign nations.

Est reliquum, ut dicamus pauca et timide,  
It remains, that we-may-say a few (words) and timidly,

de felicitate, quam nemo potest præstare,  
concerning good-fortune, which no-one may show,

de se ipso,  
(or ought to boast of) of himself (as being his own case), (but which)

possumus meminisse et commemorare de altero,  
we-may remember and commemorate of another,

sicut est æquum homini de potestate deorum.  
as it-is proper for-man (to speak) of the power of-the-gods

Enim ego sic existimo  
(and their disposal of affairs). For I thus think (and am of

imperia sæpius mandata esse, atque  
opinion), (that) commands 'have oftener 'been-confided, and

exercitus commissos Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni,  
armies entrusted to Maximus, to-Marcellus, to-Scipio,

Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum  
 to-Marius, and to-other great commanders, not only  
 propter virtutem, sed etiam  
 on-account-of (their) valour (and military skill), but also  
 propter fortunam. Enim profectò quibusdam  
 on-account-of (their) good-fortune. For indeed to-some  
 summis viris, quædam fortuna fuit, divinitus,  
 very-great men, a certain good-fortune was, by-the-favour-of-heaven,  
 adjuncta ad amplitudinem et gloriam, et ad  
 added to (their) grandeur and glory, and for  
 bene gerendas magnas res; autem de  
 successfully performing great exploits; but concerning  
 felicitate hujus hominis, de quo nunc  
 the-good-fortune of-this man, of whom 'we-are now  
 agimus, utar hac moderatione dicendi,  
 discoursing. I-will-make-use-of that moderation (in) speaking,  
 non ut dicam, fortunam positam esse in illius  
 not that I-may-say, (that) fortune was-placed in his  
 potestate, sed ut videamur meminisse præterita,  
 power, but that we-may-seem to-have-remembered past-things,  
 sperare reliqua ne aut  
 (and) to hope (well for those that) remain (to come) nor either (that)  
 nostra oratio videatur esse invisa  
 our speech may-appear to be (arrogant, or) displeasing  
 immortalibus diis, aut ingrata.  
 to-the-immortal gods, or ungrateful (for what has been done).  
 Itaque non prædicaturus sum, Quirites, quantas  
 Therefore 'I am not 'going-to-declare, O Romans, what-great  
 res gesserit domi que militæ, terrâ que mari,  
 affairs he-achieved at-home and in war, by-land and by-sea,  
 que quantâ felicitate; ut semper, non modo  
 and with-what-great good-fortune; that always, not only  
 cives assenserint ejus voluntatibus, socii  
 the citizens assented (to) his will, the allies  
 obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam  
 yielded (to him), the enemies obeyed (him) but also  
 venti que tempestates obsecundarint. Hoc  
 the winds and weather favoured (him). This I-will



brevisſime dicam unquam fuiſſe  
 very-briefly ſay (that) never (in any place) had (any one been  
 tam impudentem, qui tacitus auderet optare  
 found) ſo presumptuous, who ſilently might-dare to-wiſh-for  
 tot, et tantas res, a immortalibus diis,  
 ſo-many, and ſuch-great things, from the immortal gods,  
 quot et quantas immortales dii detulerunt ad  
 as-many and as-great (as) the immortal gods have-granted to  
 Cn. Pompeium. Quod ut ſit proprium ac  
 Cn. Pompey. Which that it-may-be a peculiar and  
 perpetuum illi, Quirites, debetis velle  
 perpetual (favour and privilege) to-him, O Romans, you-ought to-wiſh  
 et optare, (ſicuti facitis), cum cauſâ communis  
 and to-entreat, (as you-do), as-well for-the-ſake of-the-common  
 ſalutis atque imperii, tum hominis  
 ſafety and of-the-empire, as (for the ſake) of-the-man  
 ipſius.  
 himſelf.

Quare, cum et bellum ſit ita neceſſarium, ut  
 Wherefore, when both the war is ſo neceſſary, that  
 poſſit non negligenſ; ita magnum, ut  
 it-can not be-neglected; ſo great, that  
 ſit adminiſtrandum accuratiſſime; et cum poſſitis  
 it-is-to-be-conducted moſt carefully; and when you-can  
 præficere ei imperatorem, in quo ſit eximia  
 place-over it a commander, in whom there-is the-moſt-excellent  
 ſcientia belli, ſingularis virtus, clariffima  
 knowledge of-war, uncommon bravery (and talent), illuſtrious  
 auctoritas, egregia fortuna; dubitabitis,  
 authority, (and) eminent good-fortune; will-you-doubt,  
 Quirites, quin conferatis hoc tantum boni,  
 O Romans, but-that you-may-confer this ſo-great a good,  
 quod oblatum eſt, et datum vobis a immortalibus  
 which is offered, and given to-you by the immortal  
 diis in conſervandum atque amplificandum  
 gods for preſerving and aggrandiſing  
 rempublicam?  
 the republic?

17. Quod si Cn. Pompeius esset privatus, hoc  
 Even if Cn. Pompey were a private-person, at this  
 tempore Romæ; tamen is diligendus erat ad tantum  
 time in-Rome; yet he ought-to-be-selected for so-great  
 bellum, atque mittendus. Nunc; cum  
 a war, and to-be-sent (to carry it on.) Now; when  
 ad ceteras summas utilitates, quoque hæc  
 to the other eminent advantages, also this  
 opportunitas adjungatur, ut adsit in iis  
 opportune-circumstance may-bo-added, that he-is-present in these  
 ipsis locis, ut habeat exercitum, ut possit  
 same countries, that he has an army (with him), that he-can  
 statim accipere ab eis, qui habent;  
 immediately receive reinforcements from those, who have  
 quid expectamus, aut cur non,  
 (armies there); what do-we-wait-for, or why 'do-we not,  
 immortalibus diis ducibus, committimus  
 the immortal gods (being our) leaders, 'commit  
 quoque hoc bellum regium eidem, cui  
 also this war of-the-kings to-the-same (person), to-whom  
 cetera commissa sunt, cum summa  
 the other (wars in those countries) are committed, with the greatest  
 salute reipublicæ?  
 advantage to-the republic?

At enim Q. Catulus clarissimus vir amantissimus  
 But indeed Q. Catulus a most-illustrious man (and) most attached  
 reipublicæ, affectus vestris amplissimis  
 to-the-republic, (and one) affected (honourably) by-your very-considerable  
 beneficiis; que item, Q. Hortensius præditus  
 favours; and also, Q. Hortensius (a man) endowed  
 summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtutis,  
 with-the-highest ornaments of honour, of fortune, of virtue, (and)  
 ingenii, dissentiunt ab hac ratione.  
 of talent, (both) dissent from this (my) opinion (of giving the  
 Ego confiteor, quorum  
 command to Pompey). I confess, (that) their  
 auctoritatem, multis locis, valuisse plurimum apud  
 authority, on-many occasions, has-prevalled very-much with

vos, et oportere valere; sed in hac causâ, tametsi  
 you, and ought, to-prevail; but in this cause, although  
 cognoscitis, auctoritates fortissimorum  
 you-know, (that) the authority and opinions of-the-most-brave  
 et clarissimorum virorum contrarias,  
 and most-illustrious men (are) contrary (and different from  
 tamen, omissis autoritatibus,  
 one another), however, omitting the authority (of opinions),  
 possumus exquirere veritatem, re ipsâ,  
 we-can inquire-into the truth, by (examining) the affair itself,  
 et ratione; atque hoc facilius, quod  
 and (by the aid of) reason; and this the-more-easily, because  
 omnia ea, quæ adhuc dicta sunt a me,  
 all those (things), which as-yet have-been-said by me,  
 idem isti concedunt esse vera, et  
 these here-same (persons) concede to-be true, and (that)  
 bellum esse necessarium, et magnum, et  
 the war is a necessary, and a great (one), and (that)  
 omnia summa esse in Cn. Pompeio  
 all the highest (qualifications) are-to-be (found) in Cn. Pompey  
 uno. Quid igitur Hortensius ait? "Si omnia  
 only. What therefore 'does Hortensius 'say? "If all (power)  
 tribuenda sint uni, Pompeium unum  
 is-to-be-conferred-on one (person), (that) Pompey alone  
 esse dignissimum; sed tamen, non  
 is the-most-worthy (of it); but however, (that) 'It-is not  
 oportere deferri omnia ad unum." Ista  
 'proper to-grant all (power) to one (person)." This  
 oratio jam obsolevit,  
 argument 'has now 'become-obsolete, (and has no force),  
 refutata multò magis re, quàm verbis. Nam  
 having-been-refuted, much more by-facts, than by-words. For  
 tu idem, Q. Hortensi, dixisti multa, graviter que  
 you the-same, Q. Hortensius, have-said much, forcibly and  
 ornate, pro tuâ summâ copiâ, ac singulari  
 eloquently, according-to your very-great fluency, and uncommon  
 facultate dicendi, et in senatu, contra fortem  
 talent (in) speaking, both in the senate, against (that) courageous

virum A. Gabinium, cum is promulgasset legem, de  
 man A. Gabinia, when he-had-proposed the law, about  
 constituendo uno imperatore contra prædones; et  
 constituting one commander against the-pirates; and  
 ex hoc ipso loco, item fecisti verba permulta  
 from this very-same place, 'you also 'spoke much  
 contra eam legem. Quid? tum, per immortales  
 against that law. What now? then, by the immortal  
 deos! si tua auctoritas valuisset apud Romanum  
 gods! if your authority had-prevailed with the Roman  
 populum plus, quam salus Romani populi ipsius,  
 people more, than the safety of-the-Roman people itself,

vera causa, teneremus  
 (and) the true cause (and interest of the republic), would-we-possess  
 hanc gloriam, atque hoc imperium orbis terræ?  
 this glory, and this command of-the-world?  
 An hoc tum videbatur tibi esse imperium,  
 Whether 'did this then 'appear to-you to-be dominion,  
 cum legati, prætores que quæstores Romani  
 when the ambassadors, prætors and questors of-the-Roman  
 populi capiebantur? cum prohibebamur  
 people were-made-captives? when hindered (and cut off)  
 commeatu et privato, et publico, ex  
 from-supplies (of provisions) both private, and public, from  
 omnibus provinciis? cum omnia maria ita clausa  
 all the provinces? when all the seas 'were so 'closed  
 nobis, ut possemus jam neque obire privatam,  
 to us, that we-could at-that-time neither transact private,  
 neque publicam rem transmarinam?  
 nor public business beyond-the-seas?

18. Quæ civitas fuit unquam antea,  
 What city (or state) was there ever heretofore, I-de  
 non dico Atheniensium, quæ dicitur quondam  
 not say of-the-Athenians, who it-is-said formerly  
 tenuisse satis late mare, non  
 held a sufficiently extensive (command of) the sea, not  
 Carthaginiensium, qui valuerunt permultum,  
 of-the-Carthaginians, who prevailed very-much,

classe, que maritimis rebus, non Rhodiorum,  
 with (their) 'fleet, and maritime affairs, not of-the-Rhodians,  
 quorum navalis disciplina, et gloria remansit,  
 whose naval discipline, and naval renown has-remained,  
 usque ad nostram memoriam: quæ civitas  
 even to our memory (and time): what state

unquam antea, tam tenuis, quæ insula  
 (was there) ever heretofore, so feeble, (and) what island  
 tam parva, quæ non defenderet suos portus, et  
 so small, which 'could not 'defend its harbours, and  
 agros, et aliquam partem regionis, atque  
 fields, and some portion 'of (its) 'territory, and

maritimæ oræ per se ipsa? At Hercle, aliquot  
 maritime coast by itself (alone)? But by-Hercules, for-some  
 continuos annos, ante Gabiniam legem, ille Romanus  
 successive years, before the Gabinian law, that Roman

populus, cujus nomen permanserat  
 people, whose name (and renown) has-remained (as)

invictum in navalibus pugnis, usque ad  
 unconquered in naval battles, even to (within)

nostram memoriam, caruit magnâ,  
 our memory, have-felt-as-if-deprived-of a great,

ac multò maximâ parte, non modò utilitatis,  
 and (of) much the greatest part, not only of-what-is-useful,

sed dignitatis atque imperii;  
 [namely, the revenues,] but 'of (their) 'dignity and 'of (their) 'empire;

nos, quorum majores classe superarunt regem  
 we, whose ancestors 'by (their) 'fleet conquered king

Antiochum que Persen, que omnibus navalibus  
 Antiochus and Perses, and in-all naval

pugnis vicerunt Carthaginienses, homines  
 engagements defeated the Carthaginians, men

exercitatisimos in maritimis rebus, que paratissimos,  
 most-skilled in maritime affairs, and well-provided

ii

poteramus, in  
 (with every thing relating thereto), we (the same) could, in

nullo loco, esse jam pares prædonibus; nos, qui  
 no place, be now equal to-the-pirates; we, who



antea non modò habebamus Italiam tutam, sed  
 æretofore not only kept Italy safe, but  
 poteramus præstare omnes socios, in ultimis  
 we-could show all (our) allies, in the-most-distant  
 oris, salvos autoritate nostri imperii; tum,  
 coasts, to-be-safe by-the-authority of-our empire; then,  
 cum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis, posita  
 when the island of-Delos, so far-distant from us, situated  
 in Ægeο mari, quo omnes commeabant  
 in the Ægean sea, in-which all (merchants) assembled  
 cum mercibus atque oneribus,  
 with the gains (of their commerce), and the freights (of their ships),  
 parva sine muro, referta divitiis,  
 (though) small (and) without walls, (and) filled with-riches, (yet)  
 timebat nihil; iidem carebamus non modò  
 it-feared nothing; (but) even-we are-deprived-of not only  
 provinciis, atque maritimis oris  
 (the intercourse) with-the-provinces, and the sea coasts  
 Italiæ, ac nostris portibus, sed etiam jam  
 of-Italy, and our harbours, but also now (even)  
 Apiâ viâ; et his temporibus, magistratus  
 from-the-Apian road; and in-these times, a magistrate  
 Romani populi non pudebat ascendere in hunc  
 of-the-Roman people 'was not 'ashamed to-come-up into this  
 ipsum locum, cum vestri majores  
 very-same place, [the rostra,] when your ancestors  
 reliquissent eum vobis ornatum nauticis exuviis,  
 had-bequeathed it to you adorned with naval trophies,  
 et spoliis classium. (against the pirates, on Pompey).  
 and the spoils of fleets, (and address you against conferring the command.

19. Romanus populus, Q. Hortensi, existimavit,  
 The Roman people, O Q. Hortensius, considered,

te et ceteros, qui erant in eâdem sententiâ,  
 that you and the others, who were of the same opinion,  
 dicere ea, quæ sentiebatis, bono animo;  
 spoke that, which you-thought, with-a-good (and sincere) mind;  
 sed tamen idem Romanus populus, in  
 but however the same Roman people, in (an affair concerning

**communi salute, maluit obtemperare suo dolori,**  
 the common safety, preferred to-obey their own painful-feelings  
**quàm vestræ auctoritati. Itaque**  
 (of fear and shame), than (to yield) to-your authority. Therefore  
**una lex, unus vir, unus annus, non modò**  
 one law, one man, [Pompey,] one year, not only  
**liberavit nos, illâ miseriâ ac turpitudine; sed**  
 delivered us, from-that misery and infamy; but  
**etiam effecit, ut aliquando videremur omnibus**  
 also caused, that once (again) we-might-appear to-all  
**gentibus ac nationibus, vere imperare terrâ que**  
 people and nations, really to-command by-land and  
**mari. Quo etiam videtur mihi indignius**  
 by-sea. For which 'it also 'appears to-me more-unworthy  
**obtrectatum esse adhuc, dicam Gabinio**  
 that-opposition-should-have-been-made hitherto, shall-I-say to Gabinius  
**anne Pompeio, an utrinque? (id quod est verius),**  
 or to-Pompey, or to-both-of-them? (that which is more-likely)  
**ne A. Gabinius legaretur,**  
 lest A. Gabinus might-be-chosen-a-lieutenant (of Pompey), (though)  
**Cn. Pompeii, expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum**  
 Cn. Pompey (himself), desiring and requesting (it). Whether  
**ille, qui postulat legatum ad tantum bellum, est**  
 he, who requests a lieutenant for so-great a war, it-is  
**non idoneus, qui impetret quem velit, cum**  
 not proper, (that) he should-obtain whom he-wishes, when  
**ceteri eduxerint ad expilandos**  
 other (commanders) have-taken-out (with them) to pillage  
**socios, que diripiendas provincias, legatos, quos**  
 the allies, and plunder the provinces, the lieutenants, whom  
**voluerunt; an debet ipse, cujus lege**  
 he desired; whether ought he, [Gabinus,] 'by whose law  
**salus ac dignitas constituta est,**  
 safety and dignity has-been-placed (on a sure basis),  
**Romano populo, atque omnibus gentibus esse**  
 for-the-Roman people, and for-all nations is to-be  
**expers gloriæ**  
 (prevented from participating in, and) (be) deprived of-the-renown

imperatoris,           atque           ejus           exercitus,           qui  
 of the-commander,           and           of-his           army,           which  
 constitutus est                            ipsius           consilio           atque  
 was-constituted (and appointed) 'by his           'counsel           and  
 periculo?   An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius  
 'at (his) 'risk? Whether C. Falcidius,           Q. Metellus,           Q. Caelius  
 Latiniensis,   Cn. Lentulus,   omnes   quos   nomino,  
 Latiniensis,           Cn. Lentulus,           all           whom   I mention  
 causâ honoris,                           cum fuissent tribuni  
 for-the-cause of-honour, [out of respect,] when they-had-been tribunes  
 plebis,                           proximo anno,                           potuerunt  
 of-the-people, in the           next           year (after their tribuneship),           could  
 esse legati; in                           hoc Gabinio uno, sunt  
 be   lieutenants; in (opposition to) this   Gabinus alone,   are  
 tam diligentes, qui deberet præcipuo jure  
 (people) so           active,           who           ought by-an-especial right  
 esse etiam, in hoc bello, quod geritur Gabiniâ  
 to-be also, in this war, which is-carried-on by-the-Gabinian  
 lege,           in hoc imperatore,                           atque exercitu,  
 law, (and) under this commander, [Pompey,] also   in (this) army.  
 quem constituit per vos ipse?                           de  
 which he-constituted through yourselves (by your suffrages)? about  
 legando quo,                           spero consules relatuos ad  
 'appointing whom 'a-lieutenant, I-hope the consuls will-refer (it) to  
 senatum.   Qui si dubitabunt,  
 the senate (for their favourable action). Who if they-should-hesitate,  
 aut gravabuntur, ego memet profiteor relaturum;  
 or   be-reluctant,   I myself declare (that)   I-will-refer  
 neque                           inimicum           edictum  
 (the matter to them);   neither   'shall the inimical           edict  
 cujusquam,                           Quirites, impedit me, quo  
 of-any-one (of the consuls), O Romans,   'hinder me, that no  
 minus, fretus vobis,           defendam vestrum jus  
 the less, relying on-you,   I-should-defend           your right  
 que beneficium;                           neque audiam quidquam,  
 and   favour (conferred); neither will-I-listen (to)   any-thing,  
 præter intercessionem;   de  
 except           the interposition [veto] (of the tribunes);   concerning

quâ (ut arbitror), isti ipsi, qui minantur,  
which (as I-think), these same (persons) who threaten (opposition),

etiam atque etiam considerabunt, quid liceat.  
will again and again 'consider, what may-be-allowed

Quidem meâ sententiâ, Quirites,  
(to them to do). Indeed in-my opinion, O Romans,

A. Gabinus unus adscribitur, socius  
A. Gabinus alone is-to-be-enrolled, (as) an associate (in sub-

Cn. Pompeio maritimi belli, que  
ordinate command) for Cn. Pompey (in) the maritime war, and

rerum gestarum; propterea quod alter  
the exploits (thereof); because that the one [Gabinus]

detulit id bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis  
gave that war to-be-undertaken by-your suffrages

uni; alter delatum, que susceptum,  
to-one (man), [Pompey;] the other having-received, and undertaken,

confecit.  
finished (it).

20. Reliquum est, ut videatur  
It remains, as it-appears, (that something)

dicendum esse, de auctoritate et sententiâ  
is-to-be-said, concerning the authority and opinion

Q. Catuli; qui cum quæreret ex vobis, si poneretis  
of Q. Catuli; who when he-inquired of you, if you-place

omnia in Cn. Pompeio uno, si quid  
all (your trust) in Cn. Pompey alone, if any-thing

factum esset de eo, in quo essetis habituri spem;  
should-happen him, in whom would-you-place (your) trust;

cepit magnum fructum suæ virtutis  
'he [Catulus] 'received a great reward for-his virtue

ac dignitatis, cum omnes, prope unâ voce,  
and dignity, when 'you all, nearly with-one voice,

dixistis, "vos habituros esse spem in ipso."  
'said, (that "you would-place (your) hope in himself."

Etenim est talis vir, ut sit nulla res  
For 'he [Catulus] 'is such a man, that there is no thing

santa ac tam difficilis, quam ille possit non et  
so-great and so difficult, that he can not both

regere consilio, et tueri integritate,  
 direct (it) by (his) 'counsel, and defend (it) 'by (his) 'integrity,  
 et conficere virtute. Sed in hoc ipso  
 and accomplish (it) 'by (his) 'valour. But in this same (case)  
 vehementissime dissentio ab eo, quòd, quo  
 'I most-vehemently 'differ from him, because, by-how-much  
 minus certa, ac minus diuturna, est vita hominum.  
 less certain, and less lasting, is the life of man,  
 hoc magis, respublica debet frui vitâ  
 by-so-much the more, the republic ought to-make-use-of the life  
 atque virtute summi hominis, dum licet per  
 and talents of-an-illustrious man, while it-is-allowed by  
 immortales deos. At enim nihil  
 the immortal gods (to do so). But indeed (you may say) 'let nothing  
 novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta  
 new 'be-done contrary to the examples and practices  
 majorum. Non dico hoc loco, nostros  
 'of-our-'ancestors. 'I-will not 'say in-this place, (that) our  
 majores in pace semper paruisse consuetudini,  
 ancestors in peace always conformed to usage, (and)  
 in bello utilitati, semper  
 in war to-utility (and expediency), (that) 'they always  
 accommodasse rationes novorum  
 'accommodated plans (resulting from their) new  
 consiliorum, ad novos casus temporum; non  
 deliberation, to new emergencies of-the-times; 'I-will not  
 dicam, duo maxima bella, Punicum  
 'mention, (that) two very-great wars, the (third) Punic (with Carthage)  
 et Hispaniense esse confecta, ab uno  
 and the Spanish were-carried-through (successfully), by one  
 imperatore, duas potentissimas  
 commander, [the younger Scipio,] (that) two most-powerful  
 urbes, Carthaginem atque Numantiam, quæ maxime  
 cities, Carthage and Numantia, which very-much  
 minitabantur huic imperio, esse deletas, ab eodem  
 threatened this (our) empire, were destroyed, by the same  
 Scipione; non commemorabo, nuper  
 o; 'I-will not 'remind-you, (that) some-short-time-since



visum esse ita vobis que vestris patribus, ut  
 it-seemed equally proper to-you and to-your fathers, that  
 spes imperii poneretur in C. Mario uno,  
 the hopes of-the-empire should-be-placed in C. Marius alone, (so)  
 ut idem administraret bellum cum Jugurthâ,  
 that the same [Marius] should-conduct the war with Jugurtha,  
 idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonibus;  
 the same (person) with the Cimbri, (and) the same with the Teutoni;  
 recordamini in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in  
 recollect in (the case of) this same Cn. Pompey, as-respects  
 quo Q. Catulus vult nihil novi constitui, quam  
 whom Q. Catulus wishes nothing new to-be-adopted, how  
 multa nova sint constituta  
 many new (things) may-there have-been-adopted (in Pompey's favour)  
 summâ voluntate Q. Catuli.  
 with-the-highest approbation of Q. Catulus.

21. Enim quid tam novum, quam privatum  
 For what (was) so new, (as) that a private  
 adolescentulum conficere exercitum difficile  
 young-man should-levy an army in-a-critical  
 tempore republicæ? confecit; præesse huic?  
 time of-the-republic? he-did-levy (it); to command it?  
 præfuit; gerere rem opitime  
 he-did-command (it); (and) to-carry-through the affair most-successfully,  
 suo ductu? gessit.  
 by-his-own guidance, (and in person)? he-did carry it through (success-

fully). Quid tam præter consuetudinem, quam  
 fully). What (can be) so contrary to-usage, than (for)  
 imperium atque exercitum dari peradolescenti  
 command and an army to-be-given to-a-very-young  
 homini, cujus ætas longe abesset a senatorio  
 man, whose age 'was far 'distant from the senatorial  
 gradu? Siciliam, atque  
 degree? [from the age required for a senator?] 'to-have Sicily, and

Africam, permitti que administrandum bellum  
 Africa 'to be confided (to him), and to carry on the war  
 in ea? Fuit in his provinciis  
 in them? He-was in these provinces (distinguished)

singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute;  
by (his) uncommon honesty, dignity, (and) valour

confecit maximum bellum in Africa, deportavit,  
he-terminated a-very-great war in Africa, (and) brought-back,

victorem exercitum. Quid vero tam inauditum,  
(his) victorious army. What indeed so unheard-of,

quàm Romanorum equitem triumphare?  
as-that a Roman knight should-have-a-triumph-granted

At eam rem quoque Romanus populus, non  
(to him)? But this thing also the Roman people, not

modo vidit, sed etiam putavit visendam, et  
only saw, but also thought (that) it-ought-to-be-seen, and

celebrandam omni studio. Quid tam inusitatum,  
celebrated with-all zeal. What so unusual,

quàm ut, cum essent duo clarissimi que  
than that, when there were two most-illustrious and

fortissi consules, Romanus eques mitteretur  
most-brave consuls, (that) a Roman knight should-be-sent

ad maximum, que formidolosissimum bellum  
to (carry on) a very-great, and most-dangerous war

pro consule? Missus est. Quo tempore quidem,  
for the consul? (Yet) he-was-sent. At which time indeed,

cum esset nonnemo in senatu, qui diceret,  
when there-was an individual in the senate, who said, (that)

privatum hominem oportere non mitti pro consule;  
a private man ought not to-be-sent for the consul;

dicitur; L. Philippus dixisse,  
[as proconsul] it-is-said; (that) L. Philippus said (on the occasion),

"suâ sententiâ se non mittere illum pro  
(that) "in-his opinion he 'would not 'send him for

consule, sed pro consulibus." Tanta spes  
the consul, but for (both) the consuls." So-great 'was the hope

constituebatur in eo bene gerendæ  
'placed in him 'of well 'conducting (the affairs of)

reipublicæ, ut munus duorum consulum committeretur  
the republic, that the office of-the-two consuls might-be-entrusted

virtui anius adolescentis. Quid  
to-the-valour (and talents) of-one young-man. What (is there)

**tam singularis, quàm ut, ex senatusconsulto,**  
 so extraordinary, as that, by a decree-of-the-senate,

**solutus legibus, fieret**  
 being-freed from the laws (fixing the age for holding office), he-was-made

**consul, ante quàm licuisset, per leges, capere**  
 consul, before that it-was-allowed, by the-laws, (for him) to-hold

**illum alium magistratum? Quid tam incredibile**  
 any other magistracy? What so incredible

**quàm ut iterum, Romanus eques**  
 as that a-second-time, a Roman knight

**triumpharet, ex**  
 should-have-the-honour-of-a-triumph-awarded-to-him, by

**senatusconsulto? quæ nova**  
 a-decree-of-the-senate? whatever new (or unusual precedents)

**constituta sunt, in omnibus hominibus, post**  
 have-been-established, in (the case of) all (other) men, since

**memoriam hominum, ea sunt non tam multa,**  
 the memory of-man, (all) these are not so many,

**quàm hæc, quæ vidimus in hoc uno homine.**  
 as those, which we-see in this one man. [Pompey.]

**Atque hæc tot exempla, tanta ac**  
 And these so-numerous examples (of dispensation), so-great and

**tam nova, profecta sunt in eundem hominem**  
 so novel, have-originated in (favour of) this-same man

**a auctoritate Q. Catuli, atque a**  
 [Pompey] from the authority of Q. Catuli, and from (that)

**ceterorum amplissimorum hominum ejusdem**  
 of other illustrious men of-the-same

**dignitatis.**  
 dignity.

**22. Quare videant, ne sit periniquam, et**  
 Wherefore let-them-see-to-it, lest it-may-be very-unjust, and

**non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem,**  
 not to-be-borne-with, (that) their authority (and opinion),

**de dignitate Cn. Pompeii,**  
 respecting the dignity (and elevation) of Cn. Pompey, (which dignity)

**semper comprobata esse a vobis, vestrum**  
 has always 'been-approved-of by you, (that) yours

judicium de eodem homine, quæ auctoritatem  
 judgment concerning the same man, and the authority

Romani populi improbari ab illis; præsertim,  
 of-the-Roman people should-be-blamed by them; especially,

cum Romanus populus, jam suo jure, possit  
 when the Roman people, (now) in-their-own right, can

defendere suam auctoritatem in hoc  
 defend their authority (and opinion), as respects this

homine, vel contra omnes, qui dissentiant; propterea  
 man, even against all, who may-dissent; because

quòd, iisdem istis reclamantibus, vos delegistis  
 that, these very-same objecting, you selected

illum unum ex omnibus, quem præponeretis  
 him alone from all, whom you-might-place-over

bello prædonum. Si vos fecistis hæc temere, et  
 the war (with) the pirates. If you did this rashly, and

parum consulistis reipublicæ; recte  
 (but) little consulted (the interests) of the republic; rightly 'did

isti conantur regere vestra  
 these (persons here present) 'endeavour to-regulate (and guide) your

studia suis consiliis; autem sin vos tum  
 wishes (and resolves) by-their counsels; but if you then

vidistis plus in republica;  
 saw more (deeply) into (the interest of) the republic (than they did);

vos, his repugnantibus, per vosmet ipsos attulistis  
 (if) you, these opposing, by yourselves have-conferred

dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum;  
 dignity to-this empire, (and) safety to-the-circle-of-the-earth;

aliquando isti principes  
 [the world]; (so that) at-length these chiefs (of the senate)

fateantur, et sibi, et ceteris,  
 may-confess, (that it is necessary) both for-themselves, and others

parendum esse auctoritati universi Romani populi  
 to-obey the authority of-the-entire Roman people

Atque in hoc Asiatico bello, et regio,  
 And in this Asiatic war, and regal (war with the kings).

non solum illa militaris virtus, quæ est singularis in  
 not only that military talent, which is eminent in

Un. Pompeio, sed quoque multæ aliæ et  
 Cn. Pompey (is required), but also many other and  
 magnæ virtutes animi requiruntur. Est  
 great virtues (and qualities) of-the-mind are-required. It-is  
 difficile, vestrum imperatorem ita versari, in  
 difficult, (that) your commander 'be so 'employed, in  
 Asiâ, Cilicia. Syriâ, que regnis interiorum  
 Asia, Cilicia, Syria, and in-the-kingdoms of-the-interior  
 nationum, ut cogitet nihil aliud, quàm de  
 nations, that he-may-think-of nothing else, than concerning  
 hoste, ac de laude. Deinde etiam, si sunt  
 the enemy, and concerning renown. Then, also, if there-are  
 qui moderatiores pudore ac  
 (those) who (are) more-held-in-restraint by-shame and  
 temperantiâ, tamen nemo arbitratur eos  
 the-control-of-themselves, yet no-one thinks (that) they  
 esse tales, propter multitudinem cupidorum  
 are such, on-account-of the multitude of-covetous (and rapacious)  
 hominum. Est difficile dictu, Quirites, in quanto  
 men. It-is difficult to-say, O Romans, in what-great  
 odio simus apud exterâs nationes,  
 hatred (and unpopularity) we-are among foreign nations,  
 propter injurias ac libidines eorum, quos  
 on-account-of the injuries and (wicked) licentiousness of-those, whom  
 missimus ad eas, per hos annos cum imperio.  
 we-have-sent to those (nations) during these (late) years with command.  
 Enim quod fanum putatis, in illis terris  
 For what temple do-you-think, in those countries, (has-been)  
 religiosum nostris magistratibus, quam  
 religiously-sacred (in the eyes of) our magistrates, what  
 civitatem sanctam, quam domum  
 city (has been held) sacred, what (private) house  
 fuisse satis clausam ac munitam? locupletes ac  
 has-been sufficiently shut and fortified? rich and  
 copiosæ urbes jam requiruntur, quibus  
 opulent cities 'are now 'sought-for, against which (some)  
 causa belli inferatur, propter cupiditatem  
 cause (or pretext) of war may-be-alleged, on-account-of the desire



deripiendi. Libenter disputarem hæc  
 of-plundering (them). 'I-would willingly 'discuss these (things)  
 coram, cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et  
 publicly, with Q. Catulus and Q. Hortensius, most eminent and  
 clarissimis viris; enim noverunt vulnera sociorum.  
 illustrious men; for they-have-known the wounds of-the allies;  
 vident eorum calamitates; audiunt querimonias.  
 they-see their calamities; they-hear (their) complaints.

Putatis vos mittere exercitum contra hostes  
 Do-you-think (that) you send an-army against the enemy  
 pro sociis, an simulatione  
 for (the protection of your) allies, or-rather under-the-pretence (of act-  
 ing against) hostium, contra socios atque  
 enemies, (really to act) against allies and  
 amicos? quæ civitas est in Asiâ, quæ possit  
 friends? what city is there in Asia, which can  
 capere animos, ac spiritus,  
 comprehend (or satisfy) (the greedy) mind, and (rapacious) spirit,  
 non modo imperatoris, aut legati, sed unius  
 not only of-a-commander, or of-a-legate, but (even) of-a-single  
 tribuni militum?  
 tribune of-the-soldiers?

23. Quare, etiam si habetis quem, qui, signis  
 Wherefore, also if you-have any-one, who, the standards  
 collatis, videatur posse  
 being collected, [the battle having commenced] may seem to-be-able  
 superare regios exercitus; tamen nisi erit idem,  
 to-overcome the royal armies; however, unless he-be one,  
 qui possit cohibere se a pecuniis sociorum,  
 who can restrain himself from the money of-the-allies,  
 qui vanus, oculos, animum,  
 who (can restrain) (his) hands, (his) eyes, and (his) mind,  
 ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui  
 (and desires) from their wives and children, who  
 ab ornamentis fanorum, atque  
 (can restrain them) from the ornaments of-the-temples, and  
 oppidorum, qui ab auro que regia  
 of-the-towns, who (likewise can keep them) from the gold, and royal.

**gasa;** non erit idoneus, qui mittatur ad  
 treasures; 'he-will not 'be a-proper-person, who may-be-sent to  
**Asiaticum** que regium bellum. Putatis, **ecquam**  
 the Asiatic and royal war. Do-you-think, (that) any  
**civitatem** pacatam fuisse, quæ sit locuples?  
 city has-been-subdued, which may-be rich? (or  
**ecquam** esse locupletem, quæ videatur istis  
 any (city that) is rich, which may-seem to these  
 pacata esse? **Maritima** ora, **Quirites,**  
 (commanders) to-be-subdued? The sea coast, O Romans,  
**requisivit** Cn. Pompeium, non solum propter  
 requested Cn. Pompey, not only on-account-of  
**gloriam** **militaris** rei, sed etiam propter  
 the renown 'of (his) 'military exploits, but also on-account-of  
**continentiam** animi. Enim,  
 the moderation 'of (his) 'mind. For, (the people inhabiting the sea  
 videbat, **Romanum** populum non locupletari  
 coast) saw, (that) the Roman people 'were not 'made-richer  
 quotannis, publicâ pecuniâ, præter paucos;  
 from-year-to-year, by-the-public money, except a few;  
 nos neque assequi quidquam aliud,  
 (and that) 'we neither 'attained any-thing else,  
 nomine classium, nisi ut, detrimentis  
 by-the-name 'of (our) 'fleets, unless that, injuries (and losses)  
 accipiendis, videremur affici majore  
 being-sustained, we-might-seem to-be-affected with greater  
 turpitudine. Nunc, quâ cupiditate,  
 disgrace. Now, with-what cupidity (to obtain money),  
 quibus jacturis, quibus  
 with-what bribery, (made to influential persons), with-what  
 conditionibus, homines  
 engagements, (entered into for the obtaining command), men  
 profisciscantur in provincias, isti ignorant  
 go to the provinces, are-these-here ignorant-of  
 videlicet, qui non arbitrantur omnia  
 forsooth, who 'do not 'think (that) all (command)  
 deferenda esse ad unum? Quasi vero, videamus  
 is-to-be-conferred on one? As if-indeed, 'we-might(not) 'perceive

Cn. Pompeium esse magnum, cum suis virtutibus,  
Cn. Pompey to-be great, as-well by-his-own virtues,

tum etiam vitiis alienis. Quare nolite dubitare,  
as also by-the-vices (of) others. Wherefore do-not doubt,

quin credatis omnia huic uni, qui, inter  
but-that you-may-entrust all to-this one (man), who, for

tot annos, unus inventus sit, quem socii  
s-many years, 'has alone 'been-found, whom the allies

gaudeant venisse in suas urbes cum exercitu.  
rejoice (to see) come into their towns with an army.

Quod si, Quirites, putatis hanc causam  
But if, O Romans, you-think this cause, (of giving the sole

confirmandam auctoritatibus ;  
command to Pompey), ought-to-be-confirmed by authorities ;

vobis est auctor, P. Servilius, vir  
you-have (as) adviser-of-the-measure, P. Servilius, a man

peritissimus omnium bellorum, que maximarum  
most-experienced (in) all the wars, and (in) the greatest

rerum : cujus res gestæ tantæ, terrâ que mari,  
affairs : whose exploits so-great, by-land and sea,

exstiterunt, ut, cum deliberetis de bello,  
have-excelled (so much), that, when you-deliberate concerning war.

nemo debeat esse vobis gravior  
no-one ought to-be (considered) by-you (as) a-more-weighty

auctor : est C. Curio præditus vestris  
adviser-in-this-measure : there is C. Curio endowed with your

summis beneficiis, summo ingenio et prudentiâ,  
highest favours, with-the-greatest talent and prudence,

que gestis maximis rebus ; est Cn. Lentulus,  
and having-performed the greatest exploits ; there-is Cn. Lentulus,

in quo, omnes cognovistis, pro vestris  
in whom, 'you all 'have-known, by-reason-of your

amplissimis honoribus, esse summum  
most ample honours, there is the greatest (wisdom of)

consilium, summam gravitatem ; est  
counsel, (and) the greatest weight (of character) ; there is

C. Cassius, integritate, virtute,  
C. Cassius, (distinguished by his) integrity, virtue, (and)

singulari constantiâ.

Quare videte,

uncommon constancy (and perseverance). Wherefore see (then)

num videamur posse respondere orationi illorum,  
whether we appear to-be-able to-reply to-the-speech of-those,

qui dissentiunt, auctoritatibus horum.

who dissent-from (us), by-the-authorities of-these (men mentioned).

24 Quæ cum sint ita, C. Manili, primum

Which things when they-are so, O C. Manili, in-the-first-place,

laudo, que vehementissime comprobo et istam tuam

I praise, and most-vehemently approve both this your

legem, et voluntatem, et sententiam;  
law, and the purpose (intended by it), and the opinion

deinde hortor te, ut, Romano  
(respecting the commander); next I-exhort you, that, the Roman

populo auctore, maneat in  
people approving (and abetting), you-may-remain (steadfast) in (your)

sententiâ, neve pertimescas vim, aut minas  
opinion, nor (that) you-may-fear the violence, or threats

cujusquam. Primum, arbitror, esse satis  
of-any-one. In-the-first-place, I-believe, (that) there is enough

perseverantiæ animi in te; deinde cum videamus  
of-perseverance of-mind in you; next, when we-see

tantam multitudinem adesse, cum tanto studio,  
so-great a multitude assembled-here-present, with so-great zeal

quantam nunc videmus iterum  
(for the cause), as-much-as 'we now 'see a second time

in præficiendo eodem homine;  
(displayed) in appointing-to-command the-same man; [Pompey;]

quid est, quod dubitemus, aut de re  
what is there, that we-may-doubt, either concerning the affair

aut de facultate perficiendo. Autem ego,  
or of the power (of) accomplishing it. But I,

quidquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii,  
whatever is in me of-zeal, of-counsel, of-industry, of-talent,

quidquid possum hoc beneficio Romani  
whatever I-am-able-to-do by-this kindness of-the-Roman

populi, atque hac prætoriâ  
people (in bestowing office on me), and by-this prætorian

potestate, quidquid  
power, (I am possessed of), whatever (I am able to do)

auctoritate, fide, constantiâ;  
by (my) 'authority, credit, constancy, (and perseverance in the cause);

polliceor ac defero omne id tibi et  
I-promise and offer all this, (both) to-you [Manilius] and

Romano populo, ad conficiendam hanc rem.  
the-Roman people, for the accomplishing this affair.

Que testor omnes deos, et eos maxime, qui  
And I-call-to-witness all the-gods, and those most-especially, who

præsident huic loco que templo, qui maxime  
preside over-this place and temple, (and) who especially

perspiciunt mentes omnium eorum, qui adeunt ad  
see-into the minds of-all those, who go to

Rempublicam, me neque  
the Republic, [who apply themselves to public affairs,] (that) I neither

facere hoc rogatu cujusquam, neque quò  
am doing this at-the-request of-any-one, nor because

putem per hanc causam conciliari gratiam  
I-may-think, by this cause, to-conciliate the favour

Cn. Pompeii mihi, neque quò quæram ex  
of Cn. Pompey for-me, nor because I-may-seek from

amplitudine cujusquam, aut præsidia  
the dignity (or elevated rank) of-any-one, either protection

mihi periculis, aut adjumenta honoribus.  
for-myself in-dangers, or aids (in acquiring) honours

propterea quod, tecti innocentia, facile  
therefore that, shielded by innocence, 'we-will easily

repellemus pericula, ut oportet hominem præstare;  
repel dangers, as it-becomes a man to-do;

autem consequemur honores, neque ab uno,  
but we-will-obtain honours, neither from one (person),

neque ex hoc loco, sed illâ nostrâ eadem  
nor from this place, but by-that our same

laboriosissimâ ratione vitæ,  
most-laborious course of-life (we have heretofore pursued),

si vestra voluntas feret. Quamobrem,  
if your (kind) wishes sustain (and favour me). Wherefore.



quidquid susceptum est, in hac causâ mihi,  
 whatever has-been-undertaken, in this cause (by) me,

Quirites, confirmo me suscepisse id omne  
 O Romans, I-assure (you, that) I undertook it all,

causâ reipublicæ; que tantum abest,  
 for-the-cause (and interest) of-the-republic; and so-much is-it-therefrom,

ut videar quæsisse mihi aliquam bonam  
 that I-may-seem to-have-sought for-myself any good

gratiam, ut, etiam intelligam,  
 offices (or favours of others), that, 'I also understand, (that)

suscepisse multas similitates partim obscuras,  
 I-have-become many enmities partly hidden,

partim apertas, non necessarias  
 partly open, (enmities) not necessary (to be incurred by)

mihi, non inutiles vobis. Sed ego statui,  
 me, (but) not without-use to-you. But I determined, (that)

oportere me præditum hoc honore,  
 it behoved me invested with-this honour (of the prætorship),

affectum, Quirites, vestris tantis beneficiis,  
 (and) affected, O Romans, by-your so-many favours, (that)

vestram voluntatem, et dignitatem reipublicæ, et  
 your will, and the dignity of-the-republic, and

salutem provinciarum atque sociorum, præferre  
 the safety of-the-provinces and of-the-allies, were-to-be-preferred

omnibus meis commodis et rationibus.

to-all my-own advantage and affairs (and interests).

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*  
 PRO  
*FOR*  
 L. MURENA.  
*L. MURENA*

---

1. Quæ deprecatus sum a immortalibus diis,  
 That-which I-entreated from the immortal gods,  
 judices, more que instituto majorum,  
 O judges, (according to) the usage and institutions 'of (our) 'ancestors,  
 illo die, quo auspicato, comitiis  
 on-that day, on-which the-auspices-were-taken, 'I, in the comitia  
 centuriatis, renuntiavi L. Murenam consulem;  
 centuriata, 'declared L. Murena consul (elect);  
 ut ea res eveniret bene  
 (namely), that that affair (of the election) might-eventuate advantageously  
 atque feliciter mihi que meo magistratui, populo,  
 and happily to-me and to my magistracy, to-the-nation,  
 que plebi Romanæ: precor eadem ab eisdem  
 and people of-Rome: I-pray-for the-same-thing of the same  
 immortalibus diis, ob obtinendum consulatum  
 immortal gods, on entering-upon the consulship (by)  
 ejusdem hominis, unâ cum salute,  
 the same man, together with (his personal) safety (and privileges),  
 et ut vestrae mentes atque sententiæ consentiant  
 and that your minds and opinions may agree

cum voluntatibus que suffragiis Romani populi,  
with the wishes and suffrages of the-Roman people,

que ea res afferat vobis, que  
and (that) this affair (of your agreement) may-bring to-you, and

Romano populo pacem, tranquillitatem, otium, que  
to-the-Roman people, peace, tranquillity, ease, and

concordiam. Quòd si illa sollemnis precatio  
concord. For if that solemn prayer (offered up in

comitiorum, consecrata consularibus  
the assembly) of-the-comitia, hallowed by-consular

auspiciis, habet tantam vim, et religiosem in  
auspices, has so-great a power, and religious-effect in

se, quantam dignitas reipublicæ postulat;  
it, as the dignity of-the-republic requires;

idem ego sum precatus, ut quoque eis  
at-the-same-time I prayed, that also to-these-same

hominibus, quibus hic consulatus datus esset, me  
men, to-whom this consulship had-been-granted, I

rogante, ea res  
(presiding over the assembly, and) asking (their opinion), the same thing

eveniret fauste, feliciter, que prospere.  
might-turn-out auspiciously, happily, and prosperously.

Quæ cum sint ita, iudices, et cum omnis  
Which-things when they-are so, O judges, and when all

potestas immortalium deorum aut translata sit ad  
the power of-the-immortal gods 'is either 'transferred to

vos, aut certe communicata cum vobis, idem consul  
you, or certainly shared with you, the same consu-

commendat eum vestræ fidei, qui  
recommends him (Murena) to-your faith (and protection), who

antea commendavit immortalibus diis; ut et  
before had-recommended (him) to-the-immortal gods; so-that (he) both

declaratus consul voce ejusdem hominis,  
declared consul by-the-voice of-the-same man, (Cicero)

et defensus, tueatur beneficium  
and defended (by the same), he-may-watch-over the favours

Romani populi, cum vestrâ salute, atque  
of-the-Roman people, (together) with your safety, and (that)

omnium civium. Et quoniam in hoc  
 of-all the citizens. And because in (the discharge of) this  
 officio, studium  
 duty (which I have undertaken, of defending Murena), the zeal  
 meæ defensionis, atque etiam ipsa susceptio  
 of my defence (of him), and even the-very undertaking  
 causæ, reprehensa est ab accusatoribus;  
 of-the-cause (itself), has-been-reprehended by the accusers;  
 antequam instituo dicere pro L. Murenâ,  
 (therefore) before I-commence to plead for L. Murena,  
 dicam pauca pro me ipso; non quod,  
 I-will-say a few (words) respecting my self; not because,  
 defensio mei officii sit potior  
 the defence of-my duty (in this cause) may-be preferred (as of more  
 mihi, quidem in hoc tempore, quàm  
 importance) to-me, even at this time, than (the defence)  
 salutis hujusce, sed ut, meo facto  
 of-the-safety of-this-same (person); but that, my acts (in this case)  
 probato vobis, possim majore auctoritate,  
 being-approved by-you, I-may-be-able with-greater authority  
 propulsare impetus inimicorum, ab  
 (and weight), to-repel the-attacks 'of (his) 'enemies, upon  
 hujus honore, famâ, que omnibus fortunis.  
 his honour, fame, and all (his) fortunes.

2. Et primum, respondebo M. Catoni,  
 And in-the-first-place, I-will reply to M. Cato, (who is  
 dirigenti vitam ad certam normam  
 in the habit of) regulating life according-to a certain rule  
 rationis, et diligentissime perpendenti momenta  
 of-reason, and diligently weighing the value  
 officiorum omnium, de meo officio.  
 of-the-duties of-all, concerning my-own duty (in this cause).  
 Cato negat, fuisse rectum me et  
 Cato denies, (that) it-was right (or proper, that) I both  
 consulem, et latorem legis  
 consul, and (also) proposer of-the-law (against)  
 ambitûs, et tam severe  
 bribery-and-improper-influence to-obtain-office, and 'having so severely

gesto consulatu,  
 and strictly 'discharged (the duties of) the consulship, 'should (in the  
 attingere, causam  
 slightest degree) 'touch, (or have any thing to do with) the cause  
 L. Murenæ. Cujus reprehensio vehementer movet  
 of L. Murena. Whose reprehension vehemently moves  
 me, ut non solum problem  
 (and excites) me, so that not only 'I-may (explain and) 'prove  
 vobis, judices, rationem mei facti  
 to-you, O judges, the reason of-my action (and conduct), (and)  
 quibus debeo maxime, verum etiam ut  
 to-whom I-ought especially (to do so), but also that (I ought  
 Catoni ipsi, gravissimo atque  
 to do the same) to Cato himself, a most-respectable and  
 integerrimo viro. A quo tandem, M. Cato, est  
 upright man. By whom in-fine, O M. Cato, is-it  
 æquius, consulem defendi, quam a consule?  
 more-just, (that) a consul should-be-defended, than by a consul?  
 Quis, in republica, potest, aut debet esse conjunctior  
 Who, in the republic, can, or ought to-be more-united  
 mihi, quàm is, cui respublica traditur, a me uno,  
 to-me, than he, to-whom the republic is-delivered, by me alone,  
 sustinenda, sustentata meis magnis laboribus et  
 to-be-sustained, having-been-upheld by-my great labours and  
 periculis? Quòd si, in iis rebus repetendis,  
 dangers? For if, in those things demand-is-made-for-recovery,  
 quæ sunt Mancipi, is debet præstare periculum  
 which are warranted-property, he ought to-incur the risk  
 judicii, qui obligavit se nexu,  
 of-a-trial, who has-bound himself by-the-obligation (of warranting the  
 profectò etiam rectius, in judicio consulis  
 case), certainly also more-justly, in the trial of a consul  
 designatì, is consul potissimum, qui declaravit  
 elect, that consul most-especially, who declared (him)  
 consulem, debebit esse auctor beneficii  
 consular, ought-to-be the guarantee (for him) of-the-favours  
 Romani populi, que defensor periculi.  
 of-the-Roman people, and (his) defender (in case) of danger.



**Ac, si, ut in nonnullis civitatibus solet fieri,**  
 And, if, as in some states it-is-the-custom to-be-done  
 patronus huic causæ constitueretur  
 an (advocate or) patron for-this cause should-be-appointed  
 publice, is potissime daretur  
 publicly (by the authorities), he 'would most-especially 'be-assigned  
 defensor, affecto honore, qui,  
 as-a-defender, to-the-one-invested with-the-honour (of office) who,  
 præditus eodem honore, afferret non  
 endowed with-the-same honour (of office himself), might-bring no  
 minus auctoritatis, quàm facultatis ad dicendum.  
 less authority, than ability to (his) pleading.  
**Quod si, ii, qui jam invehuntur ex alto**  
 For if, those, who now are-brought (by the winds) from the high  
 in portum solent præcipere summo  
 (sea) into the harbour are-accustomed to-give with-the-greatest  
 studio, solventibus portu, et rationem  
 care, (those) leaving the harbour, both an-account  
 tempestatum, et prædonum, et locorum;  
 of-the-storms, and of-the-pirates, and of (the dangerous) places;  
 quod natura fert, ut faveamus eis, qui  
 because nature impels (us), that we-favour those, who  
 ingrediantur eadem pericula, quibus nos  
 are-about-to-undergo the same dangers, which we  
 perfuncti sumus: quo animo tandem  
 have-gone-through: in-what (state of) mind 'is-it then  
 oportet me esse, jam prope videntem terram,  
 'proper (that) I should-be, now near seeing land,  
 ex magâ jactatione, in  
 after a great tossing (on the stormy sea of public life), as-respects  
 hunc, cui, video, esse subeundas maximas tempestates  
 him, who, I-see, is-about encountering the greatest storms  
 reipublicæ? Quare si est boni consuli,  
 of-the-republic? Wherefore if it-is (the part) of-a-good consul,  
 non solum videre, quid agatur, verum etiam  
 not only to-see-to, what 'is (now) 'doing, but also  
 providere, quid futurum sit; ostendam,  
 to-foresee, what may-hereafter-be (the state of affairs); I-will-show

**alio loco, quantum intersit communis salutis,**  
 in-another place, how-much it-interests the common safety  
**esse duos consules, in republica**  
 (that) there-should-be two consuls, in the republic  
**kalendis Januariis, Quod si est**  
 on-the-kalends-of-January. [On the first of January.] Which if it-is  
**ita, non tam officium debuit vocare me**  
 so, not so-much my) duty ought to-call-on me (to defend)  
**fortunas hominis amici, quam respublica**  
 the fortunes of-a-man (my) friend, as (that) the republic  
**consulem ad defendendam communem**  
 (should call on) the consul to defend the common  
**salutem.**  
 safety.

**8. Nam quòd tuli legem de ambitu,**  
 For that I-proposed the law concerning bribery,  
**certe ita tuli,**  
 (and corrupt means of obtaining office), 'I certainly 'did so 'propose (it),  
**ut non abrogarem eam, quam tulerim**  
 that 'I-might not 'abrogate that (law), which I-had-proposed  
**jampridem mihi met ipsi de defendendis**  
 long-since to-my-own self, concerning defending (and warding  
**periculis civium. Etenim si confiterer**  
 off) the dangers of (my) fellow citizens. For if I-were-to-confess  
**largitionem esse factum, que defenderem id,**  
 (that) bribery was committed, and should-defend it, (as)  
**esse recte factum, facerem improbe,**  
 'having-been rightly 'done, I-would-act unjustly (and reprehens-  
**etiam si alius tulisset legem: vero cum**  
 sibly), even if another (person) had-proposed the law: but when  
**defendam, nihil commissum esse contra**  
 I maintain, (that) nothing has-been-done (by Murena) against  
**legem, quid est, quòd latio legis impediat**  
 the law, what is-there, that the proposing of-the-law should-hinder  
**meam defensionem? Negat esse**  
 my defence (of him)? He (Cato) denies (that) ~~the~~  
**ejusdem severitatis,**  
 in consonance with) the same severity (and strictness,



Sed, judices, conquestio Ser. Sulpicii, sapientissimi

But, O judges, the complaint of Ser. Sulpicius, a most-wise

atque ornatissimi hominis, commovebat me non  
and most-accomplished man, moved me no

minus, quam accusatio Catonis : qui dixit  
less, than the accusation of Cato : who [Sulpicius] said

ferre gravissime et acerbissime, me  
(that he) bore very-heavily and very-bitterly, (that) I

oblitum familiaritatis que  
having-forgotten (the claims) of-long-acquaintance and

necessitudinis defendere causam  
of-intimate-and-binding-friendship was-defending the cause

L. Murenæ contra se. Ego cupio, judices, satisfacere  
of-L. Murena against him. I desire, O judges, to-satisfy

huic, que adhibere vos arbitros. Nam cum  
him, and employ you as umpires (between us). For when

est grave, accusari vere in amicitia, tum,  
it-is a serious (thing), to-be-accused truly in friendship, so,

etiam si falso accuseris, est non negligendum.  
even if 'you-be falsely 'accused, it-is not to-be-neglected.

Ego Ser. Sulpici confiteor, et me debuisse tibi,  
I O Ser. Sulpicius confess, (that) both I owed you

in tuâ petitione, omnia  
in your application (and canvass for the consulship), all (my)

studia atque officia, pro nostrâ necessitudine,  
zeal and (good) offices, according-to our intimate-friendship,

et arbitror præstitisse.  
and I-think (that) I-have-performed (the same, by giving all the assist

Defuit nihil a me  
ance in my power). There-lacked nothing on my (part, to assist)

tibi petenti consulatum, quod postulandum esset, au  
you soliciting the consulship, that could-be-required, either

ab amico, aut a gratioso, aut  
from a friend, or from a favoured (and influential person), or

a consule. Illud tempus abiit ; ratio  
from the consul. That time has-gone-by ; the motive (of action)

mutata est. Existimo sic, sic persuadeo mihi,  
is-changed. I-think so, and so persuade myself, (that)

me debuisse tibi tantum contra honorem  
I owed you as-much (assistance) against the advancement:

L. Murenæ, quantum tu ausus sis  
of L. Murena (to the consulship), as you might-venture:

postulare a me; contra salutem,  
to require-of from me; (but that) against (his personal) safety,

debere nihil. Neque enim, si tum adfui tibi,  
I-owe (you) nothing. Nor indeed, if 'I then 'stood-by you,

sum peteres consulatum, debeo idcirco nunc, cum:  
when you-sought the consulship, ought-I for that reason now, when:

petas Murenam ipsum, esse adiutor  
you-seek (to injure) Murena himself, to-be (your) assistant:

eodem pacto. Atque hoc non modo non  
by-the-same agreement. And this not only 'is not

laudari, sed potest ne quidem concedi, ut,  
'to-be-praised, but can not indeed be-conceded, that,

nostris amicis accusantibus, non defendamus  
our friends accusing, 'we-might not 'defend

etiam alienissimos.  
even the-greatest-strangers.

4. Autem, iudices, est et vetus, et magna  
But, O judges, there-is both an old, and great

amicitia cum Murenâ mihi, quæ non  
friendship with Murena (and) me, which (friendship) 'shall not

idcirco obruetur a Ser. Sulpicio, in dimicatione  
for-such-reason 'be-overwhelmed by Ser. Sulpicius, in a capital

capitis, quòd ab eodem  
trial, (involving all the civil rights of Murena), because by the same

superata est in contentione  
(Sulpicius, this friendship) was-overcome in a contest (for)

honoris. Quæ causa si esset non,  
the honour (of office). Which motive (of friendship), if it-were not

tamen vel dignitas hominis,  
(in existence), yet either the dignity (and high rank) of-the-man,

vel amplitudo ejus honoris, quem adeptus est,  
or the-great-dignity of-his office, which he-has obtained,

inussisset mihi summam famam superbis  
would-have-branded me (with) the greatest stigma of-pride



que crudelitatis, si repudiasset causam tanti  
and of-cruelty, if I-had-repudiated a cause of-so-much  
periculi, hominis amplissimi, et suis ornamentis  
danger, of-a-man most-distinguished, both by-his-own honours

et Romani populi. Neque enim licet  
and (by those) of-the-Roman people. Neither indeed is-it-allowed

mihi jam, neque est integrum, ut non  
me now, nor is-it wholly-in-my-power, that 'I-should not

impertiam meum laborem, sublevandis  
impart my labour (and assistance), in-alleviating

periculis hominum. Nam cum tanta præmia  
the dangers of-men. For when such-great rewards

data sint mihi pro hæc industria,  
have-been-given to-me, for this industry (in defending others),

quanta antea nemini;  
as before-this (have been conferred) on-none (for like services),

deponere labores, per quos ceperis ea,  
to-desist-from labours, by which you-obtained those (honours),

cum adeptus sis, esset hominis,  
when you-have-obtained (them), would-be (the part) of-a-man,

et astuti et ingrati. Si quòd licet  
both cunning and ungrateful. If however it-would-be-allowed (for me)

desinere, si, te auctore, possum,  
to-desist (from my labours), if, you being the adviser, I-might (do so),

si nulla turpitudine inertiae, nulla superbiae,  
if no disgrace (or reproach) of-indolence, none of-arrogance,

nulla culpa inhumanitatis suscipitur; ego  
no fault of-inhumanity is-incurred (thereby); I (would)

vero libenter desino. Sin autem fuga laboris  
indeed willingly desist. But if the shunning of-labour

coarguit desidiam, repudiatio supplicum superbiam,  
proves idleness, the rejection of-suppliants (proves) arrogance

neglectio amicorum improbitatem;  
(and) the neglect of-friends (proves) worthlessness; (and)

nimirum hæc causa est ejusmodi, quam nec  
indeed this cause is of-that-kind, which neither

industrius, nec misericors, nec officiosus possit  
an industrious, or merciful, or obliging (man) can

deserere. Atque hujusce rei, Servi, facillime  
 abandon. And of this thing, O Servius, 'you-may very-easily

ceperis conjecturam de tuo ipsius studio  
 form an opinion, from your own pursuits (as a lawyer).

Nam si putas necesse tibi, etiam respondere  
 For if you-think-it necessary for-you, also to-give-legal-advice  
 adversariis tuorum amicorum, consulentibus de  
 to-the-enemies of-your friends, consulting (you) respecting

jure; et si existimas turpe, te advocato,  
 the law; and if you think (it) shameful, you having been counsel,

illum ipsum,  
 (and given your advice and opinion), (that) the same (person),

contra quem veneris, cadere causa;  
 against whom 'you (now) 'appear, should-lose (his) cause;

noli esse tam injustus, ut, cum tui fontes  
 resolve-not to-be so unjust. that, when your springs

pateant vel tuis inimicis,  
 (of legal knowledge) are-open, even to-your enemies, (that)

putes nostros rivulos oportere esse  
 you-would-think (that) our (small) rivulets ought to-be

clausos etiam amicis. Etenim si familiaritas  
 closed, also 'to (our) 'friends. For-indeed, if (my) long-friendship

tua removisset me ab hoc causâ, et si hoc idem  
 (for) you had-removed me from this cause, and if this same

accidisset Q. Hortensio, M. Crasso, clarissimis  
 had-happened to Q. Hortensius, to M. Crassus, most-distinguished

viris, si item ceteris, a  
 men, (and engaged in this case for Murena), if also to-others, by

quibus intelligo tuam gratiam magni  
 whom I-know your favour and (esteem) 'is greatly

sestimari; consul designatus non haberet  
 prized; the consul elect 'would not 'have

defensorem, in eâ civitate, in quâ nostri majores  
 a defender, in that city, in which our ancestors

voluerunt unquam deesse patronum  
 had-resolved that never should-there-be-wanting a patron

nemini infimo. Ego ipse  
 and defender to-any-one, (even of) the lowest-degree. myself

vero, judices, existimarem me nefarium, si  
indeed, O judges, would-consider myself a-wicked-man, if

defuissem amico, crudelem, si  
I-were-wanting to (my) friend, a-cruel-man, if (I were wanting)

misero, superbum si consuli.  
to-one-in-distress, an-arrogant-man, if (I were wanting) to-the-consul

Quare quod dandum est amicitiae, larg  
Wherefore whatever is-to-be-conceded to-friendship, 'will-be freely

abitur a me, ut agam cum te, Servi, non  
given by me, so-that I-will-act with you, O Servius, in no

secus, ac si esset meus frater, qui est carissimus  
otherwise than if (it) were my brother, who is most-dear

mihi, in isto loco. Quod  
to me, (stood) in this same place (that you are). Whatever

tribuendum est officio, fidei, religioni,  
is-to-be-yielded to-duty, to (good) faith, (and) to-religion,

moderabor id ita, ut meminerim, me dicere  
I-will regulate it so, that I-may-remember, (that) I am-pleading

pro amici periculo, contra studium  
for (the safety) of-a-friend in-danger, against the attacks 'of (another)

amici.

'friend.

5. Intelligo, judices, fuisse tres partes  
I-understand, O judges, (that) there-were three parts

totius accusationis, et unam earum  
of-the-entire accusation, and (that) one of-them

versatam esse, in reprehensione vitae,  
has-been-taken-up, in the censure (of his mode of) life,

alteram in contentione

the other in contesting (his claims, on account of his not being of

dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus  
the proper rank and) dignity, (and) the third with the crimes

ambitus.

Atque harum trium  
of-bribery (and corruption in the election). And of-these three

partium, illa prima, quæ debeat esse gravissima,  
parts, that first, which ought to-have-been the-most-grave,

fuit ita infirma et levis, ut magis lex

was so weak and trifling, that rather the law, (respecting)

quædam accusatoria coëgerit illos dicere aliquid,  
 certain (forms of) accusation, forced them to-say something,

de vitâ L. Murenæ, quàm vera facultas  
 concerning the life of L. Murena, than (any) real power

maledicendi. Enim Asia objecta est  
 of-criminating (him). For Asia has-been objected (to him as a

quæ non expetita est ab hoc ad  
 reproach) which 'was not 'sought by him, for (the purpose

voluptatem et luxuriam, sed  
 of indulging in) pleasure and luxury, but which

peragrata in militari labore. Qui si adolescens,  
 he-traversed in military duty. Who if (when) a-young-man,

suo patre imperatore, non meruisset;  
 his-own father being commander, 'he-had not 'served

videretur, aut timuisse hostem, aut  
 (in the army); he-would-seem, either to-have-feared the enemy, or

imperium patris, aut repudiatus a parente.  
 the command of-his-father, or to-have-been-repudiated by his parent.

An cum filii prætextati  
 Whether when the sons, (under 17 years, and) wearing-the-prætexta

triumphantium soleant potissimum sedere in equis;  
 of-those-triumphing used especially to-sit on the horses

figiendum fuit huic decorare  
 (drawing the triumphal car); was-it-to-be-avoided (by) this one, to adorn

triumphum patris militaribus donis,  
 the triumph 'of (his) 'father, 'with (his own) 'military rewards,

ut, rebus gestis communiter,  
 so-that, by-exploits performed together, (it might be said that)

pæne triumpharet simul cum patre? Hic  
 'he nearly 'triumphed together 'with (his) 'father? This (man)

vero, iudices, et fuit in Asiâ, et fuit magno  
 then, O judges, both was in Asia, and was a great

adjumento fortissimo viro suo parenti in periculis,  
 assistance to-the-very-brave man his father in dangers,

solatio in laboribus, gratulationi in  
 a comfort (to him) 'in (his) 'labours, a congratulation (to him) in

victoriâ. Et, si Asia habet quandam suspicionem  
 victory. And, if Asia has a certain suspicion

luxuriæ. non unquam vidisse Asiam, sed  
 of luxury, not (that) 'he ever 'saw Asia, but (that)  
 vixisse continenter in Asiâ, laudandum est. Quamobrem  
 he-lived temperately in Asia, is-to-be-praised. For-which-reason  
 nomen Asiæ fuit non obijciendum Murenæ, ex  
 the name of-Asia was not to-be-objected to Murena, from  
 quâ laus constituta est familiæ, memoria  
 which renown was constituted (and arose) 'for (his) 'family, a memorial  
 generi, honos et gloria nomini: sed  
 'for (his) 'race, (and) honour and glory 'to (his) 'name: but  
 aliquod flagitium ac dedecus aut susceptum  
 some debauchery and scandalousness (was) either acquired  
 in Asiâ, aut deportatum ex Asiâ. Vero  
 (by him) in Asia, or (when) brought from Asia. But  
 meruisse stipendia in eo bello,  
 to-have-earned pay [to have served in the army] in that war,  
 quod tum Romanus populus gerebat, non modò  
 which then the Roman people waged, not only  
 maximum, sed etiam solum, fuit  
 the greatest, but also the only-one, was (a proof) 'of (his)  
 virtutis: libentissime meruisse, patre  
 'valour: 'to-have-most-willingly 'served (in the army, his) father  
 imperatore, pietatis: finem  
 being commander, 'of (his filial) 'piety: (that) the termination 'of (his)  
 stipendiorum fuisse victoriam ac triumphum  
 'military) services was the victory, and triumph  
 patris, felicitatis. Idcirco  
 'of (his) 'father, (and which was a proof) 'of (his) 'good-fortune. Therefore  
 quidem in hisce rebus, est nihil loci maledicto,  
 indeed in these things, there-is no room for-censure,  
 quod laus occupavit omnia.  
 because praise has-taken-up all (the place).

6. Cato appellat L. Murenam saltatorem. Si  
 Cato calls L. Murena a dancer. If (this is)

vere objicitur, est maledictum vehementis  
 truly objected (to him), it-is the reproach of-a-violent  
 accusatoris; sin falso maledici conviciatoris.  
 accuser; but-if falsely (it is that) of-a-slandrous calumniator.



Quare cum sis istâ auctoritate,  
 Wherefore when you are (of) such authority (and weight of character),  
 debes non, M. Cato, arripere maledictum ex  
 you-ought not, O M. Cato, to-snatch calumny out-of  
 trivio, aut ex aliquo convivio  
 the-cross-streets, (where idlers meet), or from some carousal/  
 scurrarum, neque temere vocari consulem Romani  
 of-buffoons, nor rashly to-call the consul of-the-Roman  
 populi saltatorem: sed conspiciere, quibus vitiis  
 people a dancer: but to-consider, with-what vices  
 præterea sit necesse eum affectum esse,  
 besides it-may-be necessary (that) he should-be-affected,  
 cui istud possit vere objici. Enim fere nemo  
 to-whom this may-be truly objected. For almost no-one  
 saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; neque  
 dances, (when he is) sober, unless perhaps he-is-crazy; neither  
 in solitudine, neque in moderato atque honesto  
 in solitude, nor in a moderate and decent  
 convivio. Saltatio est extrema comes tempestivi  
 feast. Dancing is the last companion of-prolonged  
 convivii, amoeni loci, multarum  
 feasting, of-pleasant (and luxurious) places, (and) of-many (voluptuous)  
 deliciarum. Tu arripis id mihi, quod  
 pleasures. You catch-at that, (it seems to) me, which (it)  
 est necesse omnium vitiorum esse  
 is necessary (that) of-all vices (it should) be  
 postremum: relinquis illa, quibus  
 the last: you-leave those (things unnoticed), which  
 remotis, hoc vitium potest non omnino esse.  
 being-removed, this vice can not at-all exist.  
 Nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non  
 No disgraceful feasting, no improper love, no  
 commissatio, non libido, non sumptus  
 revelling, no lust, no extravagance-in-expenditure  
 ostenditur. Et, cum ea non reperiantur,  
 is-shown. And, when those (things) are not found,  
 quæ habent nomen voluptatis, quæ quæ sunt vitiosa:  
 which have the name of-pleasure, and which are vicious; (he)

in quo potes non reperire luxuriam ipsam, in eo  
 in whom you-can not find luxury itself, in him

putas te reperturum umbram luxuriæ?  
 do-you-think (that) you will-find the shadow of-luxury?

Potest nihil igitur dici in vitam L. Murenæ?  
 Can nothing therefore be-said against the life of L. Murena?

Inquam nihil omnino, judices. Consul designatus  
 I-say nothing at-all, O judges. The consul elect is

hic defenditur a me, ut nulla fraus,  
 thus (and on those grounds) 'defended by me, that no fraud,

nulla avaritia, nulla perfidia, nulla crudelitas, nullum  
 no avarice, no perfidy, no cruelty, no

petulans verbum ejus proferatur. Habet  
 lascivious word of-his can-be-brought-against (him). It-is

bene: fundamenta defensionis jacta sunt. Enim  
 well: the foundations of-the-defence are-laid. For

nondum defendimus bonum virum, atque  
 we-are not-as-yet 'defending a good man, and

integrum hominem, nostris laudibus, quibus postea  
 upright man, by our praises, which hereafter

utar, sed prope confessione inimicorum.  
 I-will-make-use-of, but almost by-the-confession 'of (his) 'enemies.

7. Quo constituto, aditus ad  
 Which (first part) being-established, the approach to

contentionem dignitatis, quæ fuit  
 the contest (respecting his) dignity (and rank), which was

altera pars accusationis, est facilior mihi.  
 the second part of-the-accusation, is more-easy for-me.

Video esse in te, Ser. Sulpici, summam  
 I-see (that) there-is in you, O Ser. Sulpicius, the highest

dignitatem generis, integritatis, industriæ, quæ  
 dignity of-birth, of-integrity, of-industry, and

omnium ceterorum ornamentorum, fretum quibus,  
 of-all other accomplishments, relying on-which,

est par aggredi ad petitionem consulatûs.  
 it-is proper (for you), to-attempt to apply (for) the consulship.

Cognosco ista esse paria in  
 I-knew that-these-same (virtues and endowments) are equally-so in

L. Murenâ, atque ita paria, ut neque ipse poterit  
 L. Murena, and so equal, that neither he-himself could-be

vinci dignitate, neque  
 surpassed in-dignity (and worth by you), nor 'can-he (Murena)

superarit te dignitate. Contempsisti genus  
 'surpass you in-dignity. You-have-despised the family

L. Murenæ; extulisti tuum. Quo loco, si  
 of L. Murena; you-have-extolled your-own. On-which subject, if

sumis hoc tibi, nisi qui sit patricius,  
 you-assume this to-yourself (to assert), except he who is a patrician,

neminem esse natum bono genere; facis, videatur,  
 no-one is born of-a-good family; you-act, it-would-seem,

ut rursus plebes sevocanda in Aventinum.  
 that again the people were-to-be-called-out to the Aventine hill.

Autem sin sunt amplæ et honestæ plebeisæ  
 But if there-are distinguished and honest plebeian

familisæ; et proavus, et avus  
 families; (and indeed) both the great-grandfather, and grandfather

L. Murenæ fuerunt prætores, et pater, cum  
 of-L. Murena were prætors, and (his) father, when

triumphasset amplissime atque honestissime  
 he-had-triumphed most-splendidly and honourably (for exploits

ex præturâ, hoc reliquit huic  
 performed) in (his) prætorship, (and) thereby left to-him

faciliorem gradum adipiscendi  
 a-more-easy step [and thereby prepared the way for him] of-obtaining

consulatûs, quod is jam debitus patri  
 the consulship, because it 'was already 'due to-the-father

petebatur a filio. Vero tua nobilitas, Ser. Sulpici,  
 was-sought by the son. But your nobility, O Ser. Sulpicius,

tametsi est summa, tamen est notior  
 although it-is (of the) highest (order), yet it-is more-known

literatis hominibus et historicis, vero obscurior  
 to-literary men and historians, but less-known

populo et suffragatoribus. Enim pater fuit  
 to-the-people and to-the-voters. For (your) father was

equestri loco; avus celebratus nullâ  
 in-the-equestrian rank; (your) grandfather was-celebrated by no

illustri laude. Itaque non ex recenti sermone  
illustrious reputation. Therefore not from the modern discourse

hominum, sed ex vetustate annalium est memoria  
of-men, but from the antiquity of-annals is the remembrance

tuae nobilitatis eruenda. Quare ego soleo  
of-your nobility to-be-extracted. Wherefore I am-accustomed

semper aggregare te in nostrorum numerum, quod,  
always to-associate you in our number, because

cum esses filius Romani equitis virtute que  
when you-are the son of-a-Roman knight, 'by (your) 'virtue and

industriâ perfecisti, tamen  
industry, you-have-attained (such reputation, that) yet

putarere dignus summâ amplitudine:  
you might-be-thought worthy of-the-highest honours (of the state):

nec unquam visum est mihi esse minus virtutis  
nor 'did-it ever 'seem to-me to-be less of-virtue

in Q. Pompeio, novo homine, et fortissimo viro,  
in Q. Pompeius, a new man, and a-most-brave man

quàm in nobilissimo homine, M. Æmilio. Etenim  
than in (that) most-noble man, M. Æmilius. For

est ejusdem animi atque ingenii, tradere  
it-is (a part) of-the-same mind and talent, to-transmit

suis posteris, quod Pompeius fecit, amplitudinem  
to-his posterity, which Pompeius did, the greatness (and honour)

nominis, quam non acceperat;  
of-a-name, which 'he had not 'received (from his parents)

et, ut Scaurus, renovare, virtute prope  
and, like Scaurus, to-renew, 'by (his) 'virtue, the nearly

intermortuam memoriam sui generis.  
extinct remembrance of-his family.

8. Quanquam ego jam putabam, iudices,  
Although I heretofore did-think, O judges, (that I)

perfectum esse meo labore, ignobilitas  
had-been-brought-about by-my exertion, (that) want-of-nobility

generis ne objiceretur multis fortibus viris; qui  
of-birth 'might not 'be-objected to-many brave men; who

jacebant, non modò commemorandis  
remained-neglected, not only (when) mentioning (and pointing out)

Curiis, Catonibus, Pompeiis, illis antiquis,  
 the Curii, the Catoes, the Pompeii, those ancient,  
 fortissimis viris, novis hominibus, sed his  
 most-brave-men, (and) new men, but these  
 recentibus, Mariis, Didiis, et Cæliis. Cum ego  
 modern-ones, the Marii, the Didi, and the Cælii. When I  
 vero, tanto intervallo, refregissem  
 indeed, so-great an interval (of time having elapsed), had-broken  
 ista claustra nobilitatis, ut aditus ad consulatum  
 these barriers of-nobility, so-that access to the consulship  
 posthac, non pateret magis nobilitati, quam  
 hereafter, 'might not 'be-open more to-nobility, than  
 virtuti, sicut fuit apud nostros majores:  
 to-virtue (and merit), as it-was with our ancestors: 'I-did  
 non arbitrabar, cum consul designatus, ex vetere et  
 not 'think, when the consul elect, of an old and  
 illustri familiâ, defenderetur filio Romani  
 illustrious family, was-defended by-the son of-a-Roman  
 equitis, consule, accusatores dicturos esse  
 knight, (he being) consul, (that) the accusers would-say-any thing  
 de novitate generis. Etenim accidit mihi  
 concerning newness of family. For it-happened to-me  
 ipsi, ut peterem, cum duobus patriciis,  
 myself, that I-sought-for (the consulship), with two patricians  
 altero improbiissimo atque audacissimo,  
 (against me), the one a most-worthless and most-audacious (man),  
 altero modestissimo, atque optimo viro: tamen,  
 the other a most-modest, and most-excellent man: however,  
 superavi Catilinam dignitate, Galbam gratiâ.  
 I-overcame Catiline in-dignity, (and) Galba in-favour.  
 Quod si id deberet esse crimen novo  
 Because if this ought to-have-been (alleged as) a crime to-a-new  
 homini, profecto neque inimici, neque invidi  
 man, certainly neither enemies, nor envious-persons  
 defuissent mihi. Omittamus  
 would-have-been-wanting to-me (on the occasion). Let-us-omit  
 igitur dicere de genere, dignitas  
 therefore saying (any thing) concerning birth, the dignity



cujus est magna in utroque : videamus  
 of-which is great in each (candidate, : let-us-look  
 cetera.  
 to-the rest.

“Petit quæsturam unâ, et ego  
 ‘He (Murena) ‘sought the quæstorship together (with me), and I  
 factus sum prior.” Est non  
 was-made the first” (in order, says Sulpicius). It-is not (necessary  
 respondendum ad omnia. Enim neque fugit  
 to-reply to every-thing. For neither does-it-escape  
 quemquam vestrûm, cum multi pares  
 the observation of) any-one of-you, when many equal  
 dignitate fiant, autem unus solus possit  
 ‘n-dignity are-designated (for office), but one alone can  
 obtinere primum ; ordinem dignitatis et  
 obtain the first (place) ; (for that) the order of-dignity and  
 renuntiationis esse non eundem ; propterea quod  
 of-announcement is not the same ; because that  
 renuntiatio habeat gradus, autem  
 the announcement (of the election) may-have degrees, but  
 dignitas sit persæpe eadem omnium.  
 the dignity may be (considered) very-often (as) the same (for) all.

Sed quæstura utriusque fuit propemodum  
 But the quæstorship of-each (of you) was nearly (of)  
 pari momento sortis. Hic habuit,  
 equal importance (as assigned by) lot. This-one [Murena] had,  
 Titia lege, tacitam et quietam provinciam :  
 by-the-Titian law, a still and quiet province :  
 tu illam Ostiensem, cui, cum  
 you [Sulpicius] had that Ostian (province), at-which, when  
 quæstores sortiuntur, solet etiam  
 the quæstors draw-lots, it-is-customary also (for the by-standers)  
 acclamari ; non tam gratiosam et  
 to-shout-out (in derision) ; (a province) not so pleasant and  
 illustrem, quàm negotiosam et molestam. Nomen  
 illustrious, as full-of-care and troublesome. The name  
 utriusque consedit in  
 of-each (of you) settled-down in (your)

quæsturâ. Enim sors dedn  
 quæstorship, (and was not heard out of it). For chance gave  
 vobis nullum campum, in quo virtus posset  
 you (both) no field, in which (your) virtue might  
 excurrere que cognosci. Spatium temporis  
 come-forth and (make itself) be-known. The space of-time  
 reliqui, vocatur in  
 remaining, (after the quæstorship was passed), is called into  
 contentionem. Tractatum est dissimillimâ ratione  
 contest. It-was-managed in-a-very-different manner  
 ab utroque.  
 by each.

9. Servius secutus est, hic cum nobis, hanc  
 Servius followed, here with us, this  
 urbanam militiam respondendi, scribendi,  
 city warfare of-answering (legal questions), of-writing,  
 cavendi, plenam sollicitudinis ac  
 of-giving-legal-caution-and-advice, full of-solicitude and  
 stomachi; didicit civile jus: vigilavit multum;  
 chagrin; he-studied the civil law: he-watched much;  
 laboravit; fuit præsto multis;  
 he-laboured; he-was present for-many; [he was to be seen by all;]  
 perpassus est stultitiam multorum; pertulit  
 he-suffered-much (from) the folly of-many; he-bore (with)  
 arrogantiam; exorbuit difficultatem: vixit ad  
 arrogance; he-overcame difficulties: he-lived at  
 arbitrium aliorum, non ad suum. Magna  
 the will of-others, not at his-own. (There is) great  
 laus, et grata hominibus, unum hominem  
 praise, and (a thing) pleasing to-men, (that) one man  
 elaborare, in eâ scientiâ, quæ sit profutura  
 should-labour, in that science, which may-be advantageous  
 multis. Quid Murena interea? Fuit  
 to-many. What (was) Murena (doing) in-the-mean-time? He-was  
 legatus L. Lucullo, fortissimo et sapientissimo  
 a lieutenant to L. Lucullus, a most-brave and most-wise  
 viro, summo imperatori; in quâ legatione  
 man, (and) great commander; in which lieutenantancy

duxit exercitum; contulit signa,  
 he-commanded an army; he-brought-together the standards; [he  
 conseruit manum;  
 engaged in battle;] he-joined hand; [he fought hand to hand;]  
 fedit magnas copias hostium; cepit urbes  
 he-routed great forces of-the-enemy; he-took (several) towns  
 partim vi, partim obsidione; sic obiit istam  
 partly by-force, partly by-besieging; 'he so 'traversed this  
 Asiam refertam, et eandem delicatam,  
 Asia filled (with luxuries), and that-same (so) voluptuous,  
 ut reliquerit in eâ, neque vestigium avaritiæ, neque  
 that he-left in it, neither a trace of-avarice, nor  
 luxuriæ; in maximo bello sic versatus est, ut  
 of-luxury; in a-very-great war 'he-was so 'employed, that  
 hic gesserit multas et magnas res, sine  
 he performed many and great exploits, without  
 imperatore, imperator nullam sine  
 the commander, (but) the commander (performed) none without  
 noc. Atque loquar hæc, quanquam L. Lucullo  
 him. And (as) I-mention these-things, notwithstanding L. Lucullus  
 præsentē, tamen, ne videamur, propter  
 being present, yet, (that) 'we-may not 'seem, on-account-of  
 nostrum periculum, habere licentiam fingendi  
 our danger, to-have a license of fiction  
 concessam ab ipso, omnia sunt testata publicis  
 granted (to us) by himself, all are verified by-the-public  
 literis; quibus L. Lucullus impertit  
 despatches (of that commander); in-which L. Lucullus imparts  
 tantum laudis, quantum neque ambitiosus, neque  
 so-much of-praise, as neither an ambitious, nor  
 invidus imperator debuit tribuere alteri in  
 envious commander ought to-have-granted to-another in  
 communicandâ gloriâ. Est summa honestas,  
 participating (his) glory. There-is the greatest honesty,  
 summa dignitas in utroque; quam ego si  
 'the greatest dignity in each-one (of you); which I if  
 liceat mihi per Servium, ponam in pari atque  
 it-is-allowed to-me by Servius, will-place in the-like and

eâdem laude. Sed non licet. Agitat  
in-the-same (degree of) praise. But 'it-is not allowed. He-agitates

militarem rem; insectatur totam hanc legationem,  
military affairs; he-attacks all this lieutenancy

putat consulatum esse  
(of Murena); he-thinks, (that) the consulship is (an office requiring)  
assiduitatis, et harum quotidianarum operarum.  
industry, and these daily labours

Inquit, "mihi fueris tot annos apud exercitum?  
He-says, "were-you not so-many years with the army?

non attigeris forum? tamdiu  
did-you ever 'set-foot (in) the forum? 'were-you (not) so-long  
abfueris? et cum venris, longo intervallo,  
absent? and when you-return, (after) a long space-o'-time,

contendas cum iis, qui habitarunt in  
will-you-contend with those, who (may be said to) dwell in

foro, de dignitate?" Primum  
the-forum, about dignity (and merit)?" First (as respects)

ista nostra assiduitas, Servi, nescis quantum  
this our assiduity, O Servius, you-know-not how-much

fastidii interdum afferat hominibus, quantum  
disgust 'it sometimes 'occasions men, and-how-much

satietais. Expedit mihi quidem  
satiety. It disembarrassed (and helped) me indeed

vehementer, gratiam esse  
exceedingly, (that) the favour (I had won by my conduct) was

positam in oculis. Sed tamen  
placed before the eyes (of my countrymen). But however

superavi satietatem mei  
I-overcame the satiety of-myself, (occasioned by my frequent appear

meo magno labore, et tu fortasse  
ance), by-my great labour (and exertions), and you perhaps

idem: verum tamen desiderium  
(have done) the-same-thing: but however the desire

obfuisset nihil  
(of hearing us, occasioned by absence), 'might-have-been no 'injury

utrique nostrum. Sed, hoc omisso, ut,  
to-either of-us. But, this being-passed over, that,

revertamur ad contentionem studiorum  
we-may-return to the contest (and comparison) 'of (our) 'studies

atque artium; quî potest  
(and habits), and 'of (our) professions; to-whom can 'there-be (any)

dubitari, quin ad adipiscendum consulatum, gloria  
'doubt, but-that for obtaining the consulship, the renown

militaris rei afferat multo plus  
of military exploits may-bring much more (of claim thereto, as re-

dignitatis, quàm civilis juris?  
spects) dignity (and merit), than (that) of-the-civil law?

Tu vigilas de nocte, ut respondeas  
You watch at night, that you-may-give-answers (and advice)

tuis consultoribus: ille, ut perveniat  
to-your clients: he (does the same), that he-may-arrive

maturè cum exercitu, eo, què  
early, with his army, in that place, whither

intendit. gallorum exsuscitat te,  
he-is-directing-his-march. (The crowing) of-the-cocks awakes you,

cantus buccinarum illum. Tu instituis  
the sound of-the-trumpets (awakes) him. You arrange (the manner

actionem, ille instruit  
of conducting) a case (in law), he draws-up (an army in)

aciem; tu caves, ne tui consultores  
order-of-battle; you take-care, lest your clients

capiantur, ille ne urbes aut castra.  
be-taken (unawares), he, lest the towns or the camps (may be

Ille tenet et scit, ut copiae hostium  
taken). He understands and knows, how the forces of-the-enemy

arceantur tu, ut aquae pluviae;  
may-be-kept-back (from doing harm), you, how the rains

ille exercitatur  
(and inundations, may be kept back, from doing harm); he is occupied

in propagandis finibus; tu in regendis:  
in extending the boundaries (of the empire); you in regulating

ac nimirum (enim quod  
(the boundaries of private estates): and assuredly (for what



sentio, dicendum est), virtus militaris rei  
I-think, must-be-said), the excellence of-military art

p̄æstat omnibus ceteris.  
p̄sses (that of) all others.

10. Hæc peperit nomen  
(It is) this (military skill, that) has-produced a name

Romano populo, hæc æternam gloriam  
for-the-Roman people, this (has produced) eternal glory

huic urbi; hæc coëgit orbem terrarum parere  
for-this city; this-same has-forced the whole world to-obey

huic imperio: omnes urbanæ res, omnia hæc nostra  
this empire: all city affairs, all these our

præclara studia, et hæc forensis laus  
noble studies (and pursuits), and this forensic reputation

et industria latent, in tutelâ et præsidio  
and industry lie-sheltered, under the defence and protection

bellicæ virtutis. Atque simul suspicio tumultûs  
of-warlike virtue. And as-soon-as a suspicion of-a-tumult

increpuit, illico nostræ artes  
is reported, immediately our arts (of eloquence and pleading)

conticescunt.  
become silent.

Et quoniam videris mihi osculari istam  
And because you-seem to-me to-kiss (and fondle) this

scientiam juris, tanquam tuam filiolum,  
science of-the-law, as-if (it were) your little-daughter,

non patiar te versari in tanto errore, ut  
I will not 'suffer you to-be under so-great an error, that

arbitrere istud, nescio quid, quod didicisti  
you-should-think this, I-know (not) what, which you-have-learned

tanto opere, esse aliquid præclarum. Ego semper  
with-so-much labour, to-be something eminent. I always

judicavi te dignissimum consulatu, et omni  
'judged you most-worthy of-the-consulship, and of-every

honore, aliis virtutibus, continentîâ, gravitate,  
honour, by-other virtues, 'by (your) 'moderation, gravity.

justitiâ, fide, omnibus ceteris.  
justice, good-faith, (and) by-all (your) other (virtues) 'I-will

Non quidem dicam, quod didicisti civile jus,  
 not indeed 'say, (that) because you-have-learned the civil law,  
 perdidisti operam; sed dicam illud,  
 you-have-lost (your) labour; but I-will-say this, (that)  
 esse, in illâ disciplinâ, nullam  
 there-is, in that knowledge (of the civil law), no  
 munitam viam ad consulatum. Enim omnes artes,  
 sure way to the consulship. For all the arts  
 quæ conciliant studia Romani populi nobis,  
 which conciliate the good-will of-the-Roman people to-us  
 debent habere, et admirabilem dignitatem, et  
 ought to-have, both an admirable dignity, and  
 pergratum utilitatem.  
 very-agreeable usefulness.

11. Summa dignitas est, in iis, qui  
 The highest dignity (and esteem) is, in those, who  
 antecellunt militari laude; enim omnia quæ sunt  
 excel in-military renown; for all-things which are  
 in imperio, et in statu  
 in the empire, (or connected with it), and in the state (and condition)  
 civitatis, putantur defendi et firmari ab  
 of-the-government, are-considered to-be-defended and strengthened by  
 iis; etiam summa utilitas; siquidem  
 them; (there is) also the greatest usefulness (in them); since  
 eorum consilio, et periculo possumus  
 'by-their 'counsel, and the dangers (they incur), we-can  
 perfrui, cum republica, tum etiam nostris  
 enjoy, as-well the republic, as also our (private)  
 rebus. Etiam illa facultas dicendi est gravis, et  
 property. Also that talent of-speaking is important, and  
 plena dignitatis, quæ sæpe valuit in deligendo  
 full of-dignity, which often has-availed (much) in electing  
 consule, posse permovere consilio atque oratione,  
 a consul, to-be-able to-move by counsel and oratory,  
 mentes, et senatûs, et populi, et eorum, qui  
 the minds, both of-the-senate, and of-the-people, and of-those, who  
 judicant res. Consul quæritur, qui,  
 'udge (and decide) affairs. A consul is-required, who, (by his eloquence)

dicendo, nonnunquam comprimat tribunicios  
 in-speaking, 'may sometimes 'repress tribunician  
 furores, qui flectat concitatum populum, qui resistat  
 excesses, who may-sway the excited people, who resists,

largitioni. Non  
 (and opposes himself against) bribery-and-corruption. (It is) not

mirum, si ob hanc facultatem homines,  
 strange, if on-account-of this talent, (that) men, (who were

non nobiles, sæpe consecuti sunt consulatum:  
 not noble, often have-obtained the consulship:

præsertim cum hæc eadem res pariat plurimas  
 especially when this same thing procures many

gratias, firmissimas amicitias, maxima  
 favours, (and great influence), the firmest friendships, the greatest

studia, Quorum, Sulpici, est  
 zeal, (and good feeling towards us). Of-which, O Sulpicius, there-is

nihil, in isto vestro artificio. Primum, quæ  
 nothing, in this your profession. In-the-first-place, what

dignitas potest esse in tam tenui scientiâ? Enim  
 dignity can-there-be in so slender a science? For

sunt parvæ res, prope occupatæ in singulis  
 they-are small affairs, nearly taken-up with single

litteris, atque interpunctionibus verborum.  
 letters, and the punctuation of-words.

Deinde, etiam si, apud nostros majores, fuit  
 In-the-next-place, even if, among our ancestors, there-was

quid admirationis in isto studio, id, vestris  
 any-thing of-admiration in this study (of yours), it, your

mysteriis enuntiatis, est totum contemptum et  
 mysteries being-revealed, is altogether despised and

abjectum. Pauci quondam sciebant, posset  
 degraded. Few formerly knew, (whether) it-might

agi lege, necne. Enim  
 be-done by-law, or-not. [Whether they might go to law, or not.] For

vulgò habebant non fastos. Qui  
 generally (the people) had no calender. (Those) who

consulebantur erant in magnâ potentiâ: a quibus  
 were-consulted were in great power: from whom

etiam dies petebantur, tanquam a  
also days (of consultation) were requested, as by

Chaldæis. Quidam scriba inventus est,  
the Chaldæan-astrologers. A certain scribe (or writer) was-found,

Cn. Flavius, qui confixerit oculos cornicum,  
Cn. Flavius (by name), who might-have-pierced the eyes of crows,

et proposuerit  
who could deceive the cunning ones,] and (who) exposed

populo fastos ediscendos singulis diebus, et  
to the people a calender to-be-learned for-each day, and

compilarit, ab cautis jureconsultis ipsis,  
(thus) pilfered, from the subtle lawyers themselves,

eorum sapientiam. Itaque illi irati,  
their-own science. Therefore they [the lawyers] enraged,

quòd veriti sunt, ne, ratione dierum  
because they were afraid lest, the order of-the-days (for going to law),

pervulgatâ et cognitâ, posset agi lege,  
being-published and known, (that people) might go to-law.

sine suâ operâ, composuerunt quasdam  
without their assistance, they composed (and invented) certain

notas, ut ipsi interessent in  
(legal) forms, that they 'might (necessarily) 'be-present in

omnibus rebus.

all affairs.

12. Cum hoc posset fieri bellissime  
When this may have-been-done very-well,

"Sabinus fundus est meus;" "immo  
(as thus): "The Sabine farm is mine;" "indeed (it is)

meus;" deinde iudicium:  
mine;" (rejoins the opponent); then judgment (is given): (the

noluerunt. Inquit  
lawyers) would not (agree to this mode of procedure). Says-one,

"fundus, qui est in agro, qui vocatur Sabinus."  
"the farm, which is in the country, which is-called the Sabine."

Verbose satis. Cedo, quid postea; Ego aio eum  
Verbosely enough. Well, what next; I say that (farm)

esse meum, ex jure Quiritium." Quid tum?  
is mine, according to-the-law of-the-Romans." What then?

“Ego voco te ex jure, inde ibi manu  
 “I call you out-of-court, from that-place-there, to-contend  
 consertum.” Ille, unde petebatur,  
 with-me.” He, when it-was-demanded, [the defendant]  
 habebat non, quid responderet huic, tam  
 had not, what (wherewith) he-might-reply to-this-one, so  
 loquaciter litigioso. Idem jureconsultus transit  
 verbosely litigious. The-same lawyer (now) crosses-over,  
 modo Latini tibicinis; inquit:  
 in-the-manner of-a-Latin flute-player; and-says: (from-that-place-there),  
 “unde tu vocasti me ex jure manu consertum,  
 “whence you called me out of court, to contend with (me),  
 inde ibi ego revoco te.” Interea, ne  
 from thence I (now) call you.” In-the-mean-time, lest  
 Prætor putaret se pulchrum ac  
 the Prætor should-think himself (to be) an excellent and  
 beatum, atque  
 lucky (person), [should have too good an opinion of himself], and  
 ipse loqueretur aliquid suâ sponte,  
 should himself ‘say something of-his-own accord,  
 carmen compositum est ei quoque, cum  
 a set-form-of-words is-composed for-him also, when  
 absurdum ceteris rebus, tum vero in illo.  
 absurd in-other things, so indeed in this  
 “Utrisque, suis superstitibus, dico, istam  
 “To-each, their witnesses-being-present, I-say, (that) this  
 viam, inite viam,” ille sapiens  
 (is) the way, proceed on-the-way,” that wise (lawyer)  
 aderat præsto, qui doceret inire  
 was-present at-hand, who might-show (how) to-proceed  
 viam. “Redite viam.” Redibant eodem  
 on-the-way “Return on-the-road.” They-retained with-the-same  
 duce. Credo hæc, tum jam videbantur  
 leader. I-believe (that) these-things, even then, appeared  
 ridicula apud illos barbatos: homines,  
 ridiculous, among these bearded (personages): (that) men,  
 cum constitissent rectè, atque in  
 when they-had-placed (themselves) properly, and in



loco, juberet abire; ut statim  
a place, should-be-ordered to-go-away; that they might immediately

redirent eodem, unde abissent.  
return to-the-same-place, whence they-had-gone.

Omnia illa fucata sunt iisdem ineptiis.  
All these (legal forms) are-tainted with-these-same follies

"Quando conspicio te in jure," et hæc:  
"When I-behold you in law," and these.

"Aune tu dicis vindicaveris  
"Or- 'do you 'say (this for appearance) or have you sustained

causa?" quæ dum occulta erant, qui  
the cause?" which while they-were-kept-secret; (those) who

tenebant ea necessariò petebantur  
held those (secrets) were necessarily sought-for,

ab eis: vero postea pervulgata,  
by those, (having law suits): but afterwards having-been-divulged,

atque jactata in manibus et  
and thrown (about) in hands, [and well handled] and

excussa, reperta sunt inanissima prudentiæ,  
examined, they-were-found (to be) most-devoid of-sense

autem plenissima fraudis et stultitiæ. Nam cum  
but very-full of-fraud and folly. For when

permulta præclare constituta essent  
very-many things 'were admirably 'established

legibus, ea pleraque corrupta sunt ac  
by-the-laws, 'they-were mostly 'corrupted and

depravata ingeniis jureconsultorum. Omnes  
depraved by-the-ingenuity of-the-lawyers. All

mulieres, propter infirmitatem consilii,  
women, on-account-of the weakness 'of (their) 'judgment,

maiores voluerunt esse potestate tutorum:  
(our) ancestors resolved should-be in-the-power of-guardians

hi invenerunt genera tutorum, quæ  
these (lawyers) found-out classes of-guardians, which (classes)

continerentur potestate mulierum. Illi  
might-be-contained (or held) in-the-power of-the-women. They

noluerunt sacra interire:  
(our ancestors) did-not-wish the sacred-family-rites to-die-out

ingenio horum senes  
 by-the-ingenuity of-these (lawyers) old-men, (who had no children.)  
 reperti sunt ad faciendas coëmptiones,  
 were-found for making (fictitious) purchases (of the  
 causâ interimendorum sacrorum.  
 family estates), for-the-purpose of destroying the-sacred-rites,  
 Denique, in omni civili jure  
 satiated on such estates). In-fine, in all the civil law  
 reliquerunt æquitatem,  
 they [the lawyers] abandoned equity, (and the spirit of the  
 tenuerunt verba ipsa: ut,  
 laws), (and only) held-on, (literally to) the words themselves: as  
 quia in libris alicujus, invenerant  
 (for instance), because in the books of-some-lawyer, they-had-found  
 id nomen, causâ exempli, putarunt  
 that name (Caia), by-reason (of giving an) example, they-thought  
 omnes mulieres, quæ facerent  
 (that) all women, who might-contract (matrimony by the  
 coëmptionem, vocari Caias. Jam quidem  
 ceremony of) co-emption, were called Caia. Yet indeed  
 illud solet videri mihi mirum, tot tam  
 that used to-seem to-me strange, (that) so-many (and) so  
 ingeniosos, per tot annos etiam nunc  
 ingenious-persons, through so-many years, (and) even now  
 potuisse non statuere, utrum oporteret dici  
 would not determine, whether it-might-best be-said  
 tertium diem, an perendinum: judicem, an  
 the third day, or the-day-after-to-morrow: judge, or  
 arbitrum; rem, an litem.  
 arbiter; the action, or the suit.

13. Itaque (ut dixi) nunquam fuit  
 Therefore (as I-have-said), there never was (any)  
 consularis dignitas in ista scientiâ; quæ tota  
 consular dignity, in this science; which altogether  
 constaret ex fictis que commenticiis rebus;  
 consists of fictitious and imaginary things; (and,  
 vero multò minores gratiæ. Enim  
 certainly much fewer favours (can be obtained by it). For

quod patet omnibus, et est æque promptum  
that-which is-open to-all, and is equally free

mihi et meo adversario, id potest nullo pacto  
to-me and to-my adversary, it can in-no manner,

esse gratum. Itaque jam  
(be considered) to-be a favour. Therefore 'you-have now

perdidistis non modò spem collocandi beneficii,  
'lost not only the hope of-conferring a benefi<sup>c</sup>,

sed etiam illud quod aliquandi  
but also that (consideration) which 'you for-a-certain-time

fuit "licet consulere."  
'had, (of being respectfully asked) "is-it-allowed (me) to consult (you)."

Nemo potest existimari sapiens in  
No one can be-considered wise, (who is only skilled) in

eâ prudentiâ, quæ neque valet quidquam extra  
that knowledge, which neither is-worth any-thing without

Romam usquam, neque Romæ, rebus pro-  
Rome any-where, nor in Rome, during-the-vacation-of-

latis. Nemo potest ideo haberi peritus,  
the-courts. No-one can therefore be-considered skilled,

quod in eo, quod omnes  
(above other, in the civil law), because in that which all

sciunt, possunt nullo modò discrepare  
know (equally well), they-can in no wise differ

inter se. Autem res non ideo putatur  
among themselves. But a thing 'is not therefore 'thought

difficilis, quod continetur, et per paucis et  
difficult, because it-is-contained, both in a few and

minime obscuris l'iteris. Itaque si moveritis  
by-no-means obscure writings. Therefore if you-excite

mihi, homini vehementer occupato, stomachum,  
me, a man excessively occupied, (to) anger,

triduo profitebor me esse jureconsultum.  
in-three-days I-will-profess myself to-be a lawyer

Etenim, quæ aguntur de scripto,  
For (those things) which are transacted by writing,

sunt omnia scripta; neque est tamen  
have all (their) written forms; nor is there indeed

quidquam scriptum tam anguste, quo ego  
 any-thing, written so abbreviatedly, that I

possim non addere, "de qua re agitur;"  
 can not add, "about what thing is-it-the-question;"

autem quæ consuluntur respondentur  
 but those-things (about which) advice-is-asked, are-answered

minimo periculo. Si responderis id, quod  
 with-very-little risk. If you-answer that, which

oportet; videare respondisse idem, quod  
 is-right; you-may-seem to-have-answered the same, that

Servius; sin aliter; videare etiam  
 Servius (would); but-if otherwise; you-may-seem also

nosse et tractare controversum jus. Quapropter  
 to-know, and (how) to-handle the controversial law. Wherefore

non solum est illa militaris gloria anteponenda  
 not only is that military renown to-be-preferred

vestris formulis atque actionibus, verum etiam  
 to-your (legal) forms and actions, but also

consuetudo dicendi longe et multum antecellit  
 the habit of speaking, far and much excels

isti vestrae exercitationi, ad  
 this your practice (of the law), for (obtaining)

honorem. Itaque plerique videntur mihi,  
 the honour (of office). Therefore many seem to me,

initio multò maluisse  
 in-the-commencement (of their public life) 'to-have much 'preferred

hoc: post, cum potuissent non  
 this (practice of eloquence): afterwards, when they-could not

assequi id, potissimum delapsi sunt  
 succeed-in it, 'they-have mostly 'fallen-back

istuc. Ut aiunt  
 there-where-you-are, (to the practice of the law). As they say

n Græcis artificibus, eos esse aulædos,  
 respecting Greek musicians, (that) those are flute-players

qui potuerint non fieri citharoedi: sic  
 who could not become players-on-the-harp: thus

videmus nonnullos, qui potuerunt non evadere  
 we-see some, who could not become

oratores, eos devenire ad studium juris.  
 orators, (that) they betake-themselves to the study of-the-law

Magnus labor dicendi,  
 Great (is) the labour, (in acquiring eminence, in public) speaking,

magna res, magna dignitas, autem  
 great (is) the thing (itself), great (its) dignity, but

summa gratia. Etenim  
 great (is) the favour, (and influence connected with it). For

a vobis quædam salubritas  
 from you (lawyers) a certain (degree of) health [safety]

petitur, ab iis, qui dicunt, salus  
 is sought, (but) from those, who plead [from the orators] safety

ipsa. Deinde vestra responsa atque  
 itself (is sought). Next your answers and

decreta et sæpe evertuntur dicendo, et sine  
 decisions are, both often overturned by-eloquence, and without

defensione oratoris possunt non esse  
 the defence of-the-orators they-could not be (established on a)

firma; in qua, si satis  
 firm (basis); in which (art of oratory), if 'I-had-made sufficient

proecissem dicerem parcius de ejus  
 'progress (myself) I-might-have-spoken more-sparingly of its

laude: nunc dico nihil de me, sed de iis, qui  
 praise: now I-say nothing of myself, but of those, who

sunt, aut fuerunt magni dicendo.  
 are, or were great in-speaking.

14. Sunt duæ artes, quæ possunt locare homines

There are two professions, which can place men  
 in amplissimo gradu dignitatis; una  
 in the-most-exalted degree of-dignity (and consideration); the one

imperatoris altera boni oratoris. Enim  
 (that) of-a-commander, the other (that) of-a-good orator. For

ab hoc ornamenta pacis retinentur; ab illo  
 by this (last), the ornaments of-peace are-preserved; by the former,

pericula belli repelluntur. Tamen ceteræ virtutes  
 the dangers of-war are-repelled. However other virtues

ipsæ valent multùm per se, justitia,  
 (and merits) themselves avail much of themselves, as justice,



**fides,** **pudor** **temperantia;** **quibus,** **omnes**  
 good-faith, modesty, temperance; in which, all  
**intelligunt** **te,** **Servi,** **excellere:** **sed** **nunc**  
 know, (that) you, O Servius, excel: but now  
**disputo** **de** **studiis** **dispositis**  
 I-am-arguing of (those) pursuits disposed, (and calculate)  
**ad** **honorem,** **non de** **insitâ** **virtute**  
 for (obtaining) the honour (of office), not of the innate virtu  
**cujusque.** **Omnia** **ista** **studia** **nobis** **excutiuntur**  
 of-each-one. All these pursuits for-us are-dashed  
**de** **manibus,** **simul** **atque** **aliquis** **novus** **motus**  
 from (our) hands, as-soon as any new movement  
**cœpit** **canere** **bellicum.** **Etenim,**  
 (or commotion) begins to-sound the warlike (signal). For,  
**ut** **ingeniosus** **poëta,** **et** **valde** **bonus** **auctor** **ait,**  
 as an-ingenious poet, and very excellent writer says,  
**proeliis** **promulgatis,** **“pellitur e medio,”** **non**  
 battles being-announced, “there-is-driven from among-us,” not  
**solum** **ista** **vestra** **verbosa** **simulatio** **prudentiæ,** **sed**  
 only this your verbose imitation of-prudence, but  
**etiam** **illa** **domina** **ipsa** **rerum,** **“sapientia;** **res**  
 also that mistress herself 'of (all) 'things, “wisdom; every thing  
**geritur** **vi;** **orator** **spernitur,”** **non** **solum**  
 is-done by-violence; the orator is-despised,” not only  
**odiosus** **in** **dicendo,** **ac** **loquax,** **verum**  
 the disagreeable-one in speaking, and the wordy-one, but-indeed  
**etiam** **“bonus;** **horridus** **miles** **amatur;”** **vero**  
 also “the good-one; the rough soldier is-beloved;” indeed  
**totum** **vestrum** **studium** **jacet.** **Inquit,**  
 all your pursuits lie-neglected. He says, (men)  
**“repetunt** **rem,** **non ex** **jure** **manu** **consertum,**  
 “redress (their) affairs, not by a process of law,  
**sed** **mage** **ferro.”** **Quod** **si** **est** **ita,** **Sulpici,**  
 but rather by-the-sword.” Which if it-is so, O Sulpicius,  
**forum** **cedat** **castris,** **otium** **militiæ,** **stilus**  
 the forum must-yield to-the-camp, tranquillity to-war, the pen  
**gladio,** **umbra** **solis;** **denique,**  
 to-the-sword, the shady (retreat to exposure) to-the-sun; in-line,

sa res sit prima in civitate, propter quam civitas  
that thing is the first in a state, through which the state

ipsa est princeps omnium. Verum Cato  
itself is the chief of-all (states). But Cato (endeavours to)

demonstrat nos facere nimium magna  
show, (that) we make too great (an affair of this)

nostris verbis; et oblitos esse, omne  
by-our discourse; and, (that we) have-forgotten, (that) all

illud Mithridaticum bellum gestum esse  
that Mithridatic war was-waged, (as it were)

cum mulierculis. Quod ego existimo, judices,  
with women. Which I believe (to be), O judges,

longe secus: que de eo disseram pauca;  
far otherwise: and about this I-will-say something; (and but

enim neque causa continetur  
little), for neither 'is (my) cause (properly) 'contained

in hoc.  
in this.

Nam, si omnia bella, quæ gessimus, cum  
For, if all the wars, which we-have-carried on with

Græcis, contemnenda sunt, triumphus  
the Greeks, are-to-be despised, (then) 'let the triumph

M. Curii de rege Pyrrho derideatur; F. Flaminini  
of M. Curii over king Pyrrhus 'be derided; (that) of F. Flamininus

de Philippo; M. Fulvii de Ætolis;  
over Philip; (that) of M. Fulvius over the Ætolians; (that)

L. Paulli de rege Perse; Q. Metelli de  
of L. Paullus over king Perses; (that) of Q. Metelli over

Pseudophilippo; L. Mummii de Corinthis;  
the false Philip; 'that) of L. Mummius over the Corinthians;

sin hæc bella fuerunt gravissima, que victoriæ  
but-if these wars were very-important, and the victories

eorum bellorum gratissimæ; cur Asiaticæ  
if-these wars (were) most-acceptable (to us); why 'are the Asiatic

nationes, atque ille hostis contemnitur a  
nations, and that enemy (Mithridates) 'despised by

te? Atqui video ex monumentis veterum rerum  
you? But I-see, from the records of-ancient transactions

Romanum populum gessisse, vel maximum  
 (that) the Roman people carried-on, indeed a-very-great  
 bellum cum Antiocho; L. Scipio victor ejus belli  
 war with Antiochus; L. Scipio the conqueror, in this war,  
 partita gloria cum Publico fratre, ille,  
 shared the glory (thereof) with Publicus (his) brother, he,

Africâ oppressâ, ferebat præ se,  
 (Publicus Scipio), Africa being-conquered, bore before himself,  
 quam laudem, cognomine ipso, hic  
 this renown, by-the-surname itself (of Africanus), this (L. Scipio)  
 assumpsit eandem sibi ex nomine Asiæ.  
 assumed the-same (renown) to-himself from the name of-Asia.

In quo bello quidem, egregia virtus M. Catonis  
 In which war indeed, the rare virtue of M. Cato,  
 tui proavi enituit; quò ille, cum esset,  
 your great-grandfather shone-forth; and-as he, when he-might-be,  
 ut ego statuo mihi, talis, qualem video te esse,  
 as I set-it-down to myself, the same, as I-see you to-be,

nunquam profectus esset, si  
 'would never 'have-gone (to that war), if  
 arbitraretur bellandum esse cum mulierculis. Neque  
 he thought it-was-to-fight with women. Neither

vero, cum senatus egisset P. Africano, ut  
 indeed, when the senate had-arranged-with P. Africanus, that  
 proficisceretur legatus fratri; cum ipse, paullo  
 he-would-go (as) lieutenant 'to (his) 'brother; when he, a little  
 ante, Hanibale expulso ex Italiâ, ejecto ex  
 before, Hannibal being-driven from Italy, ejected from

Africâ, Carthagine oppressâ, liberasset rempublicam  
 Africa, (and) Carthage conquered, had delivered the republic

maximis periculis, nisi putaretur illud  
 from-the-greatest dangers, unless it-was-thought (that) that  
 bellum grave et vehemens.  
 war (was) a serious and violent-one.

15. Atqui si consideraris diligenter, quid  
 But if you-consider carefully, what  
 Mithridates potuerit, et quid effecerit, et  
 Mithridates might-have-done, and what he-accomplished, and

**qui** vir fuerit, nimirum antepones hunc  
 what (kind of) a man he-was, 'you-will assuredly 'prefer this  
**regem,** omnibus regibus, cum quibus Romanus  
 king, to-all the kings, with whom the Roman  
**populus** gessit bellum; quem, L. Sulla, non rudis  
 people have-waged war; whom, L. Sulla, no rude  
 imperator, ut dicam nihil aliud,  
 or (inexperienced) commander, that I-may-say nothing else,  
**maximo** et fortissimo exercitu, excitatum  
 with-a-very-large and very-powerful army, having-excited-him  
**pugnâ,** invectum bello in totam  
 (by a lost) battle, and) having-attacked (him) by-war in all  
**Asiam,** dimisit cum pace; quem L. Murena,  
 Asia, left (him) in peace; whom L. Murena,  
**pater** hujusce vehementissime que  
 the father of this (Murena) 'having most-violently and  
**vigilantissime** vexatum, reliquit, ex magnâ parte  
 vigilantly 'harassed, left, for the great part  
**repressum,** non oppressum; qui rex sumptis aliquot  
 checked, (but) not reduced; this king, having-taken some  
**annis** sibi, ad confirmandas rationes et copias,  
 years to-himself, to strengthen (his) affairs and forces,  
**ipse** tantum invaluit, opibus que  
 he so re-established (himself), 'by (his) 'resources and  
**conatu,** ut putaret se conjuncturum Oceanum  
 efforts, that he-thought, (that) he might-unite the Ocean  
**cum** Ponto, copias Sertorii cum suis.  
 with the Black Sea, the forces of-Sertorius (in Spain) with his-own.  
**Ad** quod bellum, duobus consulibus missis,  
 To which war, two consuls being-sent,  
**ita,** ut alter persequeretur  
 in this-manner, that, ;while) the one pursued  
**Mithridatem,** alter tueretur Bithyniam;  
 Mithridates, the other should-defend Bithynia;  
**calamitosæ** res alterius, et terrâ et mari,  
 the calamitous affairs of-one-of-them, both by-land and sea,  
**vehementer** auxerunt et opes et nomen regis:  
 greatly increased both the means and renown of-the-king

vero tantæ exstiterunt res L. Luculli, ut neque  
 out so-great were the exploits of-L. Lucullus, that neither  
 majus bellum possit commemorari, neque gestum  
 a greater war can be-mentioned, nor one-waged  
 majore consilio et virtute. Nam cum impetus  
 with-more (wise) counsel and valour. For when the force  
 totius belli constitisset ad mœnia Cyzicenorum,  
 of-all the war had-centered against the walls of-the-Cyziceni-ans,  
 que Mithridates putasset, eam urbem fore  
 and Mithridates had-thought, (that) that town would-be  
 sibi januam Asiæ, qua effractâ et revulsâ, tota  
 for-him the door of-Asia, which broken-down and destroyed, all  
 provincia pateret, omnia  
 the (Roman) province (of Asia) would-be-open (to him), all  
 hæc perfecta sunt ab Lucullo ut urbs  
 these-things were-(so)-accomplished by-Lucullus that the town  
 fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, et omnes  
 of-the-most-faithful allies was-defended, and all  
 copiarum regis consumerentur diuturnitate  
 the forces of-the-king were-consumed by-the-long-duration  
 obsessionis. Quid? arbitraris, illam navalem  
 of-the-siege. What? do-you-think, (that) that naval  
 pugnam ad Tenedum, commissam mediocri certamine,  
 battle at Tenedos, was-fought with-a-slight contest,  
 et parvâ dimicatione, cum classis hostium, inflata  
 and small combat, when the fleet of-the-enemy, inflated  
 spe atque animis, peteret Italiam contento  
 with-hope and courage, sought Italy with-a-strained  
 cursu, acerrimis ducibus?  
 (and rapid) course, (and) with-most-ardent (and active) leaders?  
 Mitto prœlia; prætereo oppugnationes oppidorum.  
 I omit the battles; I-pass-over the storming of-towns.  
 Aliquando tandem, expulsus regno, tamen  
 When in-fine, expelled 'from (his) 'kingdom, yet  
 tantum valuit consilio atque auctoritate, ut,  
 so did-he-prevail by (his) 'counsel and authority, that



adjuncto se rege Armeniorum, renovavit  
having united himself with-the-king of-the-Armenians, he-renewed

novis opibus que copiis.  
(the contest) with-new resources and forces.

16. Ac, si mihi nunc dicen  
And, if 'it-were (necessary) for-me now 'to  
lum esset, de rebus gestis nostri exercitûs  
speak, concerning the things performed (by) our army  
que imperatoris, possem commemorare plurima et  
and general, I-might relate many, and  
maxima proelia. Sed non agimus id.  
great battles. But 'we-are not 'doing that, (nor is  
Dico hoc: si hoc bellum, si hic  
it our object). I-say this: if this war, if this  
hostis, si ille rex contemnendus fuisset, neque  
enemy, if that king were-to-have-been-despised, neither

senatus, et Romanus populus putasset  
'would the senate, and Roman people 'have-thought, (that)  
suscipiendum tantâ curâ, neque gessis-  
it-was-to-be-undertaken with-so-much care, nor would-they  
set tot annos, neque  
have-waged (the war) for-so-many years, nor (would there have

tanta gloria L. Luculli: neque vero  
been) such-great glory (to) L. Lucullus; nor indeed

Romanus populus, tanto studio, detulisset  
would the Roman people, with-such-great zeal, 'have-offered

ad Cn. Pompeium curam conficiendi  
(and entrusted) to Cn. Pompey the care of-finishing

ejus belli; ex omnibus cujus pugnis, quæ  
this war; of all his (Pompey's) battles, which

sunt innumerabiles, vel acerrima videtur mihi  
are innumerable, yet the-most-violent seems to-me

illa, quæ commissa est cum rege, et pugnata  
that, which he-engaged-in with the king, and fought

summâ contentione. Cum ille eripuisset se  
with-the-greatest ardour. When he (Mithridates) had-escaped

ex qua pugnâ, et confugisset Bosporum, quò  
from that battle, and had-fled to-the-Bosphorus, whither

**exercitus** posset non adire; etiam in **extremâ**  
 an army could not approach; also in (his) extreme  
**fortunâ** et fugâ retinuit tamen regium nomen  
 fortune and flight he-retained however the royal name  
**Itaque** Pompeius ipse **posse**  
 Therefore Pompey himself having-obtained-possession (of his)  
**regno,** **hoste** pulso, **ex omnibus oris,**  
 kingdom, (and) the enemy being-driven, from all (his) regions,  
**ac** **notis** **sedibus,** **tamen** **posuit tantum**  
 and known places (and resorts), however he-placed so-much  
**in animâ unius, ut cum**  
 (Importance) in the life of-one-man, that when he (Pompey)  
**possideret omnia, quæ ille tenuerat**  
 possessed all, which he (Mithridates) had-possessed  
**adierat speraret victoriâ;**  
 might-have-made-claim-to, (or) might-have-hoped-for by (his) victory;  
**tamen non judicaret, bellum confectum**  
 however 'he did not 'think (that) the war was-finished,  
**antequam expulit illum vitâ. Tu, Cato,**  
 before-that he-had-deprived him of-life. 'Do you, O Cato,  
**contemnis hunc hostem, cum quo, tot imperatores**  
 'despise this enemy, with whom, so-many commanders  
**gesserunt bella per tot annos tot**  
 have-waged wars through so-many years (and through) so-many  
**præliis?** **vita** **cujus** **expulsi et ejecti**  
 battles? (and 'was not) the life of-him 'expelled and ejected  
**sestimata est tanti, ut,**  
 (from his kingdom) esteemed of-so-much-importance, that,  
**ejus morte nunciatâ, tum denique**  
 his death being-announced, then at-length (only)  
**arbitraremur bellum confectum? Igitur in hoc**  
 we-thought the war was-finished? Therefore in this  
**bello, defendimus L. Murenam, legatum**  
 war, we-maintain (that) L. Murena, (as a) lieutenant  
**cognitum esse fortissimi animi summi**  
 was-known (as a man of) of-the-greatest courage of-the-greatest  
**consilii maximi laboris; et hanc**  
 counsel (and skill, and also) of-the-greatest industry; and (that) this

ejus operam habuisse non minus dignitatis  
 his performance (and services) have no less a claim  
 ad adipiscendum consulatum, quàm  
 (founded on merit) for obtaining the consulship, than  
 hanc nostram forensem industriam.  
 this our forensic industry.

17. "At enim in petitione præturæ Servius  
 "But indeed in the soliciting of-the-prætorship Servius

renuntiatus est prior." No  
 was-announced (as) the first," (or highest on the list). What,

vos pergitis agere cum populo ex syngraphâ  
 'are you proceeding to-deal with the people as-if-on a bond

ut, quem locum honoris,  
 or written contract), so-that, whatever place (or rank) of-honour,

semel dederit cuipiam, eundem  
 'they-may once 'have-given to-any-one, the same (rank

debeat reliquis honoribus? Enim  
 they-ought (to confer on him) in-other honours (of office)? For

quod fretum, quem Euripum putatis habere  
 what strait, what Euripus do-you-think has

tot motus, tantas, tam varias agitationes  
 so-many movements, so-great, (and) such varied agitations

fluctuum, ratio comitiorum  
 of (its) waves, as the manner (and nature) of-the-comitia 'may (not)

habet quantas perturbationes et quantos  
 'have equally-great perturbations and equally-great (swellings

æstus? Unus dies intermissus,  
 and tossings of) tides? A single day having-been-discontinued,

aut nox interposita, sæpe perturbat omnia;  
 or a night having-been-interposed, often disturbs every-thing;

et parva aura rumoris nonnunquam commutat  
 and the small breeze of-rumour sometimes changes

totam opinionem. Sæpe etiam sine ullâ apertâ  
 the entire opinion. Often also without any open

causâ fit aliud, atque existimamus,  
 cause the thing-terminates otherwise, than we-supposed

ut nonnunquam etiam populus admiretur  
 (it would), so-that sometimes even the people wonder

factum esse ita : quasi vero ipse non  
 (that) it-was-done so: as-if indeed they-themselves 'had not  
 fecerit. Nihil est incertius vulgo,  
 'done (It). Nothing is more-uncertain (than) the common-people,  
 nihil obscurius voluntate hominum, nihil  
 nothing more-obscure (than) the wishes of-men, nothing  
 fallacius totâ ratione comitiorum.  
 more-fallacious (than) the whole order (and nature) of-the-comitia

Quis arbitratus est,  
 (and the result of their elections). Who would-have-supposed, (that)

L. Philippum summo ingenio, operâ, gratiâ,  
 L. Philippus (a man of the) greatest talent, industry, favour,

nobilitate posse superari a M. Herennio?  
 (and) nobility could be-overcome by M. Herennius?

Quis Q. Catulum antecellentem  
 Who (thought that) Q. Catulum (a man) excelling

humanitate, sapientiâ, integritate a  
 in-humanity, wisdom, (and) integrity (would be beaten) by

Cn. Mallio? quis M. Scaurum, hominem  
 Cn. Mallius? who (thought that) M. Scaurus, a man

gravissimum, egregium civem,  
 of-great-weight-of-character, a-most-excellent citizen, (and

fortissimum senatorem a  
 most-intrepid senator, (would be beaten, at the election,) by

Q. Maximo? Non modo putatum esset horum  
 Q. Maximus? Not only was-it-thought (that) of-these-things

nihil fore ita, sed cum quidem esset  
 nothing would-happen so, but when indeed it-was

factum, potuit ne intelligi, quare factum esset ita.  
 done, it-could not be-understood, why it-was-done so

Nam ut tempestates sæpe commoventur aliquo  
 For as storms often are-excited by-some

certo signo cœli, sæpe improvise  
 certain sign of-the-heavens, (so also) often 'they-are suddenly

concitantur ex nullâ certâ ratione, ex aliquâ  
 'put-in-motion from no certain reason, (or) from some

obscurâ causâ: sic, in hac populari tempestate  
 obscure cause: so, in this popular tempest

comitiorum                      sæpe                      intelligas,                      quo                      signo  
 of-the-comitia    'you-may    often                      'know,                      by-what                      sign

commota sit;                      sæpe                      causa                      est                      ita  
 it-may-have-been-set-in-motion;                      (but)                      often                      the cause                      is                      so

obscura,                      ut                      videatur                      excitata                      esse                      casu.  
 obscure,                      that                      it-may-seem                      to-have-been-excited                      by-chance.

18                      Sed                      tamen,                      si                      ratio                      reddenda                      est,                      duæ  
                     But                      however,                      if                      a reason                      must-be-given,                      two

res                      vehementer                      desideratæ                      sunt                      in  
 things                      were most-particularly                      wanting,                      in (soliciting)

præturâ,                      quæ                      ambæ                      profuerunt                      Murenæ                      in  
 the prætorship,                      which                      both                      were-of-advantage                      to-Murena,                      in

consulatu:                      una                      expectatio                      muneris,  
 (soliciting) the consulship: the one (was) the expectation of-public-shows,

quæ                      creverat,                      et                      nonnullo                      rumore,                      et                      studiis  
 which                      had-increased,                      both                      by-certain                      rumours,                      and                      by-the-zeal

que                      sermonibus                      competitorum:                      altera,                      quod  
 and                      conversation                      'of (his)                      'competitors:                      the other,                      that

ii,                      quos                      habuerat                      in                      provinciâ                      ac                      legatione  
 those, whom                      he-had                      in                      the province                      and                      legation, (as)

testes                      omnis,                      et                      suæ                      liberalitatis                      et                      virtutis,  
 witnesses                      of-all,                      both                      of-his                      liberality                      and                      'of (his)                      'virtue,

nondum                      decesserant.                      Fortuna                      reservavit  
 'had not-yet                      'left (the province).                      Fortune                      had-reserved

utrumque                      horum                      ei                      ad                      petitionem                      consulatûs.  
 each                      of-them for-him for (his)                      seeking-for                      the consulship.

Nam                      et                      exercitus                      L.                      Luculli,                      qui                      convenerat  
 For                      both                      the army                      of-L.                      Lucullus,                      that                      had-assembled

ad                      triumphum,                      idem                      fuit                      præsto                      comitiis                      L.  
 for                      the triumph,                      the same                      was                      present at-the-comitia of-L.

Murenæ;                      et                      amplissimum  
 Murena, (to assist him in obtaining the consulship); and the most-splendid

munus,                      quod                      desiderabat                      petitio                      præturæ,  
 public-shows,                      which                      were-wanting in-seeking-for the prætorship,

restituit                      præturâ.                      Num  
 he-replaced, (by giving them                      'in (his)                      'prætorship.                      Whether                      'do

hæc                      videntur                      tibi                      parva                      adjumenta                      et  
 these-things                      'appear                      to-you                      trifling                      aids                      and



**subsidia**                      **consulatûs ?**      **Voluntas militum ?**  
 assistances (for obtaining) the consulship ? (Is) the good-will of-the-soldiers

**quæ cum valet per se**  
 (a trifle) ?      which      as      it-avails      by      itself 'on-account-of (its)

**multitudine, tum gratiâ apud suos,**  
 'numbers,                      as-also 'by (their) 'influence                      among      their-own

**tum vero in declarando consule**  
 (connexion):      so      indeed      in                      electing                      a consul,

**habet etiam multum auctoritatis**  
 (the army)      has                      also                      much                      authority      (and weight

**apud universum Romanum populum.**      **Suffragatio**  
 with                      the entire                      Roman                      people.      (Is)                      the vote

**militaris ?**                      **enim consularibus comitiis**  
 of-the-military (a trifle) ?                      for                      in-the-consular                      comitia

**imperatores deliguntur non interpretes**  
 commanders                      are-elected                      not                      interpreters (and expounders)

**verborum.**                      **Quare gravis est**  
 of-words      (and legal forms).      Therefore      weighty (and influential)      is

**illa oratio,**  
 that      speech, (of the soldier to the by-standers, at the comitia),

**"recreavit me saucium, donavit me**  
 "he-took-care-of      me      wounded,                      he-gave      me (a share of)

**præda; hoc duce, cepimus castra**  
 the booty;                      under-this      leader,                      we-took (that) camp, (and)

**contulimus signa; nunquam iste imposuit**  
 fought                      (that) battle;                      never                      'did this-general                      'impose

**plus laboris militi, quàm ipse sumpsit**  
 more      labour on-the-soldier, than                      he                      was-willing-to-undergo

**sibi; cum fortis, tum felix etiam."**  
 himself;      as      brave (as he was),      so      fortunate (he) also (was)."

**Quanti putas hoc esse ad**  
 How-much      do-you-think (that)      this                      is (of use) to (gain)

**famam, ac voluntatem hominum ? Etenim si**  
 renown,                      and      the good-will                      of-men ?                      For      if

**religio est tanta illis comitiis,**  
 (the feeling of a) religious (superstition) is      so-great in-those      comitia,

**ut semper adhuc omen**  
 that      alway (even) to-the-present (time), the omen (of the century)

prærogativum valuerit,  
 that-by-lot-voted-first, 'had (a great) 'influence (on the result of the elec-  
 tion), what is (then) wonderful, (that) in this-man the renown  
 quid est mirum, in hoc famam  
 'of (his) 'good-fortune, and the discourse (of his soldiers) should-have-  
 isse?  
 availed (so much)?

19. Sed, si ducis hæc leviora, quæ  
 But, if you-think these-things too-trifling, which (yet)  
 sunt gravissima, et anteponis hanc urbanam  
 are the most-important, and (if) you-prefer these city  
 suffragationem militari, noli valde contemnere  
 votes to-the-military (votes), do-not too-much despise  
 elegantiam hujus ludorum, et magnificentiam  
 the elegance of-his shows, and the magnificence 'of (his)  
 scenæ;

scenes, (and theatrical exhibitions, as given for the gratification of the  
 quæ admodum profuerunt huic.  
 people); which 'were greatly 'advantageous to-him

Nam quid ego  
 (in procuring the favour of the people). For what 'shall I  
 dicam, populum ac vulgus imperitorum  
 'say, (but that) the people, and the multitude of-ignorant-men  
 magnopere delectari ludis?  
 'are greatly 'delighted with-games (and public shows)?

Est minus mirandum: quanquam id est  
 (Which) is less to-be-wondered-at: although it is

satis huic causæ; enim comitia sunt  
 sufficient for-this cause; for the comitia are (composed)

populi ac multitudinis. Quare si magnificentia  
 of-the-people and of-the-multitude. Wherefore if the magnificence

ludorum est voluptati populo  
 of-games (and public shows) is a pleasure to-the-people,

est non mirandum, eam profuisse  
 it-is not to-be-wondered-at, (that) it was-of-service

L. Murenæ apud populum. Sed si nosmet ipsi,  
 to-L. Murena with the people. But if we ourselves,

qui et impedimur negotiis ab omni  
 who 'are both hindered by-business from (taking part in) all  
 delectatione, et in occupatione ipsa, possumus  
 amusements, and in (that) occupation itself, we-can  
 habere multas alias delectationes, tamen oblectamur  
 have many other amusements, however are-delighted  
 et ducimur ludis; quid tu admirer  
 and are-attracted by-shows-and-games; why 'are you (then) 'astonished  
 de indoctâ multitudine? L. Otho, fortis vir,  
 at the ignorant multitude? L. Otho, a brave man,  
 meus necessarius restituit equestri ordini  
 my intimate-acquaintance restored to-the-equestrian order  
 non solum dignitatem, sed etiam voluptatem.  
 not only (its) dignity, but also (its) pleasure,  
 Itaque hæc  
 (by the seats assigned to it at the public games). Therefore this  
 lex, quæ pertinet ad ludos, est omnium  
 law, which relates to the public-games-and-shows, is of-all  
 gratissima, quòd honestissimo ordini  
 the most-agreeable (and acceptable), because to-a-most-honourable order  
 restitutus est, cum splendore, quoque  
 is-restored, with the splendour (of their rank), also  
 fructus jucunditatis. Quare ludi, crede  
 the enjoyment 'of (their) 'pleasure. Therefore games, believe  
 mihi, delectant homines, etiam illos, qui dissimulant,  
 me, delight men, as-well those, who dissimulate  
 non solum eos,  
 (and pretend, not to be delighted therewith), as not only those,  
 qui fatentur; quod ego sensi  
 who confess (they are pleased therewith); which I experienced  
 in mea petitione. Nam nos quoque  
 in my application (for the consulship). For we also  
 habuimus scenam competitricem. Quòd  
 had a theatrical-decoration as-a-competitor. And-though  
 si ego ædilis feceram trinos ludos, tamen  
 if I, (who when) ædile gave the triple games, 'was however  
 commovebar ludis Antonii; putas  
 moved (and alarmed) by-the-games of-Antonius; do-you-think.

istam ipsam argenteam scenam hujus  
 (that) this same silver scene of-this (man Murena),  
 quam irrides, nihil adversatam tibi, qui casu  
 which you-deride, 'was nothing 'against you, who by-chance  
 feceras nullos? Sed sane omnia  
 '(never) gave 'any (games)? But indeed 'let all  
 hæc sint paria; forensis opera sit par militari  
 these 'be equal; 'let forensic labour 'be equal to-military  
 urbana suffragatio sit par militari;  
 'let the civic vote 'be equal to-the-military; 'let (those,  
 fecisse magnificentissimos ludos sit idem,  
 who) have-given the most-magnificent games 'be the same,  
 et unquam fecisse nullos: quid?  
 as (those who) 'have never 'given any: what (then)?  
 ne existimas nihil interfuisse  
 'do-you 'think there 'was nothing 'present (of difference)  
 inter tuam sortem, in ipsâ præturâ, et  
 between your lot, in that-same prætorship, and (that)  
 istius?  
 of-this-man [Murena]?

20. Sors hujus fuit ea, quam omnes tui  
 The lot of him [Murena] was that, which all 'we your  
 necessarii optabamus tibi, dicendi juris;  
 friends 'wished for-you, (namely, that) of deciding the law  
 in qua, magnitudo negotii  
 (and dispensing justice); in which, the greatness of-the-business  
 conciliat gloriam, largitio æquitatis  
 procures renown, (and) the liberality of-equitable-decision (procures)  
 gratiam: in qua sorte, sapiens prætor, qualis  
 favour: in which lot (of office), a wise prætor, as  
 hic fuit, vitat offensionem  
 this (man) [Murena] was, avoids (giving) offence  
 æquabilitate decernendi, adjungit benevolentiam  
 by-the-uniform-justice of-his-decisions, he-unites benevolence  
 lenitate audiendi.  
 with-indulgent-affability of-listening (to complaints). (This is a)  
 Egregia provincia, et apta ad  
 most excellent province, and adapted for (obtaining)

consulatum, in qua laus æquitatis, integritatis,  
the consulship, in which the praise of-justice, of-integrity,

facilitatis, ad extremum concluditur  
of-affability (may be obtained, and which) at last is-terminated

voluptate ludorum. Quid tua sors?  
by-the-pleasure of public-plays. What (was) your lot?

tristis, atrox; questio peculatus,  
a gloomy, (and) harsh-one; inquiry-into embezzlement-of-public money,

ex alterâ parte, lacrimarum et squaloris, ex  
on the-one side, (full) of tears and squalid-appearance, on

alterâ, plena catenarum, atque  
the-other (side), full of-chains (and imprisonments), and

indicum. Judices cogendi inviti,  
of informers. Judges are-to-be-forced-to-sit 'against (their) will, (and)

retinendi contra voluntatem; scriba damnatus,  
to-be-detained against (their) will; a scribe was-condemned,

totus ordo alienus:  
the whole order (was, in consequence), alienated (from him):

gratificatio Sullana  
the-bounty of Sylla (from the public treasury to his followers)

reprehensa; multi fortes viri, et prope  
is condemned (and reversed); many brave men, and nearly (a great)

pars civitatis offensa est; lites severe  
part of-the-city are offended; damages 'are severely

æstimatæ; cui placet obliviscitur,  
'assessed; (he) to whom it-gives-pleasure forgets-it, (but he),

cui dolet, meminit. Post emo tu noluisti  
to-whom it-gives pain, remembers-it. In-fine you would-not

ire in provinciam. Possum non  
go to the province (assigned to you). I can not

reprehendere id in te, quod probavi in me ipso,  
reprehend that in you, which I-approved in my self,

et prætor et consul.  
both (when) prætor and consul, (by not going to the provinces assigned

Sed tamen provincia attulit multas bonas  
to me). But however the province brought many excellent

gratias L. Murenæ, cum optimâ existimatione.  
favours for-L. Murena, with the greatest reputation.



**Proficiens habuit delectum in Umbriâ;**

Journeying-thither he-had a levy-of-troops in Umbria; (the state of)

**respublica dedit ei facultatem liberalitatis;**

the republic gave to-him the power of-being-liberal (and indul-

**gent, as respects the levy); unus quâ, adjunxit**  
 gent, as respects the levy); having-made-use of-which, he-united

**multas tribus sibi, quæ conficiuntur**  
 many tribes to-himself (in interest), which are-constituted

**municipiis Umbriæ. Autem in Galliâ ipsâ,**  
 by-the-municipalities of-Umbria. But in Gaul itself,

**perfecit æquitate que diligentia, ut nostri**  
 he-accomplished 'by (his) 'equity and diligence, that our

**homines exigerunt pecunias jam desperatas. Tu**  
 men recovered money already despaired-of. You

**interea fuisti Romæ, silicet præsto**  
 in-the-mean-time were at-Rome, without-doubt (to be) near (and aiding)

**amicis. Fateor; sed tamen cogita**  
 'to (your) 'friends. I-confess (all this); but however think-on

**illud, studia nonnullorum amicorum solere**  
 this, (that) the zeal of-some friends is-accustomed

**minui in eos, a quibus intelligant**  
 to-be-diminished towards those, by whom they-understand (that)

**provincias contemni.**

provinces are-despised.

**21. Et quoniam, ostendi, judices, fuisse**

And because, I-have-shown, O judges, (that) there-was

**parem dignitatem in Murenâ atque in**  
 equal dignity (and worth) in Murena and in

**Sulpicio, ad petitionem consulatûs, disparem**  
 Sulpicius, in (their) claims of-the-consulship, (but) unequal

**fortunam provincialium negotiorum; jam dicam**  
 good-fortune of-provincial affairs; I-may now say (it)

**apertius, in quo meus necessarius Servius fuerit**  
 more-openly, in what my intimate-friend Servius may-have-been

**infe ior, et dicam ea,**  
 inferior, (as a candidate for the consulship), and I-may-say these-things,

**vobis audientibus, tempore**  
 you listening, the time (and occasion of the election)

jam amisso, quæ sæpe dixi ipsi soli,  
'having now 'passed, which 'I often 'said to-himself alone,

re integrâ. Persæpe  
the business (of the election) being-undetermined. 'I-have very often

dixi tibi, Servi, te nescire petere  
'told you, O Servius, (that) you know-not-how to-solidi'

consulatum et in iis rebus ipsis, quas  
the consulship: and in those things themselves, (respecting) which

videbam te, et agere et dicere, magno et  
I-saw you, both act and speak, with-a-great and

forti animo, solitus sum dicere tibi, te videri  
courageous mind, I-used to-say to-you, (that) you seemed

mihi magis fortem senatorem, quàm sapientem  
to-me more (like) an intrepid senator, than a prudent

candidatum. Primum terrores et minæ accusandi,  
candidate. In-the-first-place the terrors and threats of impeaching

quibus tu  
(those candidates, who might be suspected of bribery), which you

solebas uti quotidie, sunt fortis viri;  
used to-use daily, (may) be (the part) of-an-intrepid man;

sed et avertunt opinionem populi a spe  
but both turn-away the opinion of-the-people from (any) hope

adipiscendi, et debilitant studia  
(on his part) of obtaining (office), and weaken the zeal

amicorum. Nescio quo pacto hoc fit semper;  
'of (his) 'friends. I-know-not by-what means it is always (so);

neque animadversum est in uno aut altero,  
neither has-it-been-observed in one or two (candidates)

sed jam in pluribus; simul atque candidatus  
but already in many; (that) as-soon-as a candidate

visus est meditari accusationem, videatur  
seems to-meditate impeachment (of candidates), it-appear

ut desperasse honorem. Quid ergo?  
that (he) has-despaired (of) the honour (of office). What then?

non placet persequi injuriam acceptam?  
'is-it not agreeable to prosecute an injury received?

Immo vehementer placet; sed est aliud  
Indeed 'it-is exceedingly 'agreeable; but there is a different

tempus petendi, aliud persequendi.  
time for soliciting (the consulship), a different (time) for prosecuting

Ego volo petitozem, præsertim  
(candidates). I require (that) a candidate, especially

consulatûs, magnâ spe, magno animo,  
for-the-consulship, (should be of) great hope, of-great courage,

deduci, et in forum, et in campum,  
and be-accompanied, both into the forum, and into the Campus Martius

magnis copiis: inquisitio  
by-a-great assemblage (of friends): the-inquiry-into-the-conduct

eandidati, prænuntia repulsæ, non placet mihi;  
of-a-candidate, the announcer of-a-repulse, 'does not 'please me;

non comparatio testium potius, quàm suffragatorum;  
neither the procuring of-witnesses rather, than of-voters;

non minæ magis, quàm blanditiæ; non  
neither threats more, than blandishments; neither (angry)

declamatio potius, quàm persalutatio  
declamations (against bribery) rather, than saluting

præsertim cum jam,  
(the people by name, and soliciting votes); especially when now

hoc novo more omnes  
in-this new manner (of soliciting votes), all

concursent domos fere omnium,  
the candidates go-round among-the-houses 'of nearly 'all (the citizens),

et ex vultu candidatorum faciant, quantum  
and from the countenance of-the-candidates they-make-out, how-much

quisque videatur habere animi et facultatis.  
each-one may-seem to-have (of hope) spirit, and of-means

"Tu ne vides illum tristem?  
(for the contest). "'Do you not 'see that sad-looking (man)?

demissum? jacet, diffidit,  
(that) dejected (one)? he-is-down, he-doubts-his-chance,

abjecit hastas." Hic  
he-has-thrown-away his spears (and given up the day)." This

rumor serpit: "tu scis illum cogitare  
rumor spreads-abroad: "do you know (that) he is-thinking-of

accusationem? inquirere  
an impeachment (of the candidates) (that) he-is-inquiring

in competitores? quærere testes?  
in (relation to his) competitors? (that) he-is-seeking-for witnesses?

Faciam alium, quoniam hic ipse  
I-will-make another (my candidate), because this-one himself

desperat sibi." Intimi amici ejusmodi  
despairs (of success)." The intimate friends of-this-kind

candidatorum debilitantur, deponunt  
of-candidates are-debilitated (and dispirited), they-remit-in (their)

studia, aut abjiciunt rem testatam;  
zeal (for him), or give-up the thing evident (to all as hopeless);

aut reservant suam operam et gratiam, judicio  
or reserve their aid and influence, for-the-trial

et accusationi.  
and accusation.

22. Accedit eodem, ut, etiam candidatus  
It-happens likewise, that, even the candidate

ipse, possit non ponere totum animum, atque  
himself, can not place (his) entire mind, and

omnem suam curam, operam, que diligentiam in  
all his care, labour, and diligence in

petitione. Enim cogitatio accusationis adjun-  
soliciting (office). For the thought of impeachment is-added-

gitur, non parva res, sed nimirum maxima  
thereto, not a small affair, but assuredly the greatest

omnium. Enim est magnum, te comparare  
of-all. For it-is a great-thing, (that) you prepare

ea, quibus possis exturbare hominem a  
those-things, by-which you-can expel a man from

civitate, præsertim  
the state, (and deprive him of the rights of citizenship), especially

non inopem, neque infirmum; qui  
(one, who is) not destitute, nor weak; who

defendatur, et per se, et per suos,  
can-defend-himself, both by himself, and by his-own (friends),

et etiam vero per alienos. Enim omnes  
and even indeed by strangers. For 'we all

concurrimus ad propulsanda pericula; et qui  
hasten to repel danger; and 'we, who

sumus non aperte inimici, in periculis  
'are not openly enemies, (and) in the danger

capitis præstamus  
of-capital-punishment, (either of life, or loss of citizenship), offer

officia et studia amicissimorum, etiam  
the duties and zeal of-the-most-friendly (relations), even

alienissimis. Quare ego expertus molestiam  
to-the-greatest-strangers. Whereas I-having-experienced the trouble

et petendi, et defendendi, et accusandi,  
both of-soliciting (office), and of-defending, and of-accusing,

sic intellexi; in petendo  
'I-have thus 'understood, (and formed my opinion); (that) in seeking

esse acerrimum studium; in  
(for office) there-is the most-ardent zeal (required); in

defendendo officium; in accusando  
defending (a person) duty (and faithfulness); in accusing

laborem. Itaque statuo  
(and impeaching) labour (and industry). Therefore I-maintain

sic, ut posse nullo modò fieri, ut  
(it to be) thus, that it-can in-no wise be-done, that

idem diligenter adornet, atque  
the same (person) 'can diligently 'prepare (materials), and

instruat accusationem, et petitionem  
arrange (them) for-an-accusation (or impeachment), and for-a-soliciting

consulatûs. Pauci possunt sustinere unum,  
(for) the consulship. Few can sustain the one (part),

nemo utrumque. Tu existimasti, cum deflexisses  
no-one both. 'Did you 'think, when you-turned-aside

te de curriculo petitionis, que transtulisses  
from the career of-seeking-office, and transferred (your)

animum ad accusandum, te posse satisfacere  
mind to impeachment, (that) you could satisfy

utrique negotio? Vehementer  
(the requirements) for-both affairs? (If you did) 'you greatly

errasti. Enim quis dies fuit, posteaquam  
erred. For what day was-there, after-that

ingressus es in istam denuntiationem  
you-entered on this announcement (of your intention)



accusandi, quem tu non totum consumpseris  
 of-impeaching, which you 'did not altogether consume

in istâ ratione?

in this employment (of procuring materials, for an impeachment)?

23. Flagitasti legem ambitûs, quæ

You-earnestly-demanded a law (against) bribery, which

non deerat tibi. Enim erat Calpurnia  
 (law) 'was not 'wanting to-you. For there-was the Calpurnian

scripta severissime. Gestus mos est, et  
 (law) written (in) very-severe (terms). In-compliance, both

tuæ voluntati et dignitati.  
 'with your 'wish and dignity, (a new law, respecting bri-

Sed tota illa lex fortasse  
 bery, was passed). But all that law 'might perhaps

armasset tuam accusationem si haberes  
 'have-armed your impeachment (with new terrors) if you-had

reum nocentem; vero refragata est  
 an accused-person really-guilty; but-indeed it-was-opposed-to (and

petitioni. Gravior  
 injurious) 'to (your) 'seeking (the consulship). More-severe

pœna efflagitata est tuâ voce, in plebem;  
 punishment was-earnestly-demanded by-your voice, against the people

animi tenuiorum commoti; exsilium in  
 the minds of-the-lower-orders were-alarmed; banishment against

nostrum ordinem; senatus concessit  
 our (senatorial) order (for bribery); the senate acceded

tuæ postulationi, sed non libenter constituit  
 to-your request, but not willingly did-they-establish

duriorem conditionem communi fortunæ,  
 a severer condition for-the-common fortune (of the order

te auctore. Pœna addita est  
 of senators), you (being) the author (thereof). Punishment was-added

excusationi morbi, voluntas multorum  
 to-excuses (on account) of-sickness, the good-will of-many

offensa, quibus aut laborandum est,  
 'towards you) was-hurt, by-whom either business-is-to-be-performed

contra commodum valetudinis.  
 (in the courts), contrary to-the-state (of their) health

aut incommodo morbi, etiam ceteri fructus  
 or to-the-inconvenience of-sickness, also the other advantages  
 vitæ relinquendi. Quid ergo? quis tulit  
 of-life are-to-be-relinquished. What then? who proposed

hæc? Is, qui paruit auctoritati senatûs,  
 these-things? He, who obeyed the authority of-the-senate, (and)

tuæ voluntati: denique is tulit, qui  
 your wish: in-fine he proposed (it), who 'd

mimime probarat. Existimas illa,  
 not-at-all 'approve (it). Do-you-think (that) these, (following

quæ, meâ summâ voluntate,  
 propositions of yours), which, with-my highest approbation,

frequens senatus repudiavit, mediocriter  
 a full senate rejected, 'was (only) slightly

adversata esse tibi?  
 'opposed-as-a-hinderance to-you (in the affair of the consulship)?

Flagitasti confusionem suffragiorum,  
 You-earnestly-demanded the confused (mingling) of-the-votes

prorogationem legis Maniliæ, æquationem  
 (of the centuries), an extension of-the-law of-Manilia, an equalizing

gratiæ, dignitatis suffragiorum. Honesti  
 of-the-influence, (and) rank of-suffrage. Honourable

homines, atque gratiosi in suis vicinitatibus, et  
 men, and of-influence in their neighbourhood, and

municipiis tulerunt graviter, pugnatum esse  
 municipalities took-it ill, (that) they-should-be-opposed

a tali viro, ut omnes gradus et dignitatis et  
 by such a man, so-that all degrees both of-rank and

gratiæ tollerentur, idem  
 of-influence should-be-taken-away (from them), 'you, the same-person,

voluisti iudices esse editicios,  
 'desired the judges to-be chosen (by the parties in the suit)

ut occulta odia civium, quæ nunc continentur  
 so-that the secret hatreds of-citizens, which 'are now contained

tacitis discordiis, erumperent in  
 (within the bounds of) private animosities, may-break-out against

fortunas cujusque optimi. Omnia hæc  
 the fortunes of-any very-great (person). All these-things

muniebant viam accusandi tibi, obsæpiebant  
fortified the way of-impeaching for-you, (but) they-obstructed

adipiscendi.

(that) of-obtaining (the consulship).

Atque ex omnibus illa maxima plaga  
And from all (which) that very-great wound

injecta est tuæ petitioni, me non tacento,  
was-given to-your seeking (the consulship), I not being-silent,

de quâ multa gravissime dicta sunt ab  
about which many-things 'were very-severely 'said by (that)

ingeniosissimo et copiosissimo homine Hortensio.  
very-talented and very-fluent man Hortensius.

Quò etiam durior locus datus mihi dicendi;  
Wherefore also a more-difficult task is-given to-me of-speaking;

ut, cum ante me, et ille dixisset, et  
as, when before me, both he had-spoken, and (likewise)

M. Crassus, vir et summâ dignitate, et  
M. Crassus, a man both (of) the greatest dignity, and

diligentiâ, et facultate dicendi; ego in extremo,  
diligence, and talent in-speaking; I in the last-place,

non agerem aliquam partem  
(and concluding), 'will not 'treat any (particular) part

causæ, sed dicerem de totâ re,  
of-the-cause, but may-speak concerning the whole affair,

quod videretur mihi. Itaque versor  
what might-seem (proper) to-me. Therefore I-am- (now) occupied

fere in iisdem rebus, et, quoad possum, iudices,  
nearly with the same subjects, and, as-much-as I-can, O judges,

occurro vestræ sapientiæ.

I-help your wisdom, (in coming to a decision).

24. Sed tamen, Servi, quam securim putas  
But however, O Servius, what are do-you-think

te injecisse, tuæ petitioni  
'that) you laid, (to cut off the success of) your seeking

cum tu adduxisti Romanum  
(for the consulsh'p), when you (by your conduct) had-brought the Roman

populum in eum metum, ut pertimesceret  
people into that (state of) apprehension, that they-greatly-feared

ne Catilina fieret consul, dum tu comparares  
lest Catiline might-be-made consul, while you were-preparing

accusationem, depositâ atque abjectâ  
an impeachment, having-given-up and thrown-aside (your)

petitione? Etenim videbant te inquirere,  
application (for the consulship)? For they-saw you inquiring-for

tristem ipsum, amicos  
(witnesses, and proofs of bribery), sad yourself, (and your) friends

mœstos; animadvertēbant observationes, testifica-  
dejected; they-noticed the precautions, the deposi-

tiones, seductiones testium, secessionem  
tions, the taking-aside of-witnesses, the going-apart (and consultation)

subscriptorum; quibus rebus  
of-the-subscribers, (who abetted the impeachment); by-which things

certe, vultus ipsi candidatorum solent  
certainly, the countenances themselves of-the-candidates used

videri obscuriores; Catilinam inter-  
to-appear more-clouded (and dejected); (that) Catiline in-the-mean-

ea alacrem atque lætum, stipatum choro  
time (was) active and cheerful, densely-accompanied by-a-band

juventutis; vallatum indicibus atque sicariis;  
of-young-men; surrounded by-informers and assassins;

inflatum cum spe militum tum  
inflated with the hope (of the assistance) of-the-soldiers, as-also

promissis mei collegæ, quemadmodum ipse  
the promises of-my colleague, as he-himself

dicebat; circumfluentem exercitu Arretinorum et  
said; encompassed by-an-army of-Arretinian and

Fesulanorum colonorum, quam turbam, ex  
Fesulanian colonists, which crowd, (composed) of

dissimillimo genere, homines distinguebant  
very-different materials, (those) men very-remarkable (who)

perculsi calamitate temporis Sullani. Ipsius  
were-ruined by-the-calamity of-the-times of-Sylla. His

vultus erat plenus furoris; oculi  
[Catiline's] countenance was full of-fury; (his) eyes

sceleris; sermo arrogantiae sic ut consulatus  
wickedness; (his) speech of-arrogance so that the consulship

videretur ei jam exploratus, et conditus domi  
 might-seem to-him (as) now certain, and laid-up at-home

Contemnebat Murenam;  
 (to be used when required). He-despised Murena;

numerabat Sulpicium suum accusatorem, non  
 he-counted Sulpicius (amongst) his accusers, not

competitorem; denuntiabat vim ei;  
 (as his) competitor; he-announced violence to-him;

minabatur reipublicae.  
 he-threatened the republic.

25. Quibus rebus, qui timor sit injectus omnibus  
 By-which things, what fear was-excited in-all

bonis, que quanta desperatio reipublicae, si  
 good (men), and what-great desperation of-the-republic, if

ille factus esset, nolite velle a me  
 he should-be-made (consul), do-not require of me  
 commoneri; vosmet ipsi recordamini  
 that-it-be-adverted-to; you yourselves remember (all this)

cum vobis. Enim meministis, cum voces illius  
 among yourselves. For you-remember, when the expressions of-that

nefarii gladiatoris percrebuisent, quas dicebatur  
 wicked gladiator [Catiline] had-spread-abroad which it-was-said

habuisse in domesticâ concione, cum negasset  
 he-delivered in a private meeting, when he-may-have-denied

fidelem defensorem miserorum posse inveniri  
 (that) a faithful defender of-the-unfortunate could be-found,

nisi eum, qui ipse, esset miser;  
 unless (that) he, as himself [Catiline], might-be unfortunate

saucios et miseros oportere non credere  
 (that) the injured and unfortunate ought not to-trust,

promissis integrorum et fortunatorum; quare  
 to-the-promises of-the-uninjured and fortunate; wherefore

qui vellent replere consumpta  
 those) who desire to-replenish (their) exhausted (fortunes, and)

recuperare erepta, spectarent  
 to-recover (that, which) has-been-taken (from them), let-them-see-to-it,

quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid  
 what any-one-himself may-owe, what he-may-possess, what



auderet; oportere eum, qui futurus esset  
 he-might-dare (to do); (that) it-behoved him, who was-to be

dux et signifer calamitosorum, esse minime  
 the leader and standard-bearer of-the-unfortunate, to-be little

timidum, et valde calamitosum.  
 fearful, and (to have undergone) great calamities (and mis-

Igitur tum, his rebus auditis,  
 fortunes). Therefore then, these things being-heard (and ascertained),

meministis senatusconsultum fieri, me referente,  
 you-remember (that) a decree-of-the-senate was-made, I moving

comitia ne haberentur postero die,  
 (it), (that) the comitia 'should not 'be-held on-the-next day,

ut possemus agere de his rebus in senatu.  
 that we-might consult about these things in the senate.

Itaque postridie, frequenti senatu, excitavi  
 Therefore next-day, (in) a full (meeting of) the senate, I-called-on

Catilinam, atque jussi eum, si quid vellet,  
 Catiline, and I-requested him, if 'he so 'desired,

dicere de his rebus, quæ  
 to say (something in explanation) concerning these things, which

allatæ essent ad me. Atque ille, ut semper fuit  
 were-reported to me. And he, as 'he always 'was

apertissimus, non purgavit se,  
 very-open (in his declarations), 'did not 'clear himself

sed indicavit atque induit.  
 (of the charge) but openly-owned (them) and took-them-on-himself

Enim tum dixit, esse duo corpora  
 For then he-said, (that) there-were two bodies (in)

reipublicæ, unum debile, infirmo capite; alterum  
 the republic, the one weak, with-a-weak head; the other

firmum, sine capite; huic, cum meritum esset  
 strong, without a head; to-this (last), as it-had-deserved

ita de se, non defuturum caput,  
 so (well) of himself, 'there-should not 'be-wanting a head, 'while

se vivo. Frequens senatus congemuit,  
 he 'was-alive. A full senate groaned (at hearing this),

decrevit, tamen neque satis severe pro  
 (and) passed-a-decree, however not sufficiently severe fo-

indignitate rei. Nam erant partim,  
 the indignity of-the-affair. For (some) 'were partly  
 ideo non fortes in decernendo, quia timebant  
 therefore not severe in 'deciding, because they-feared  
 nihil; partim, quia timebant. Tum erupit  
 nothing; (others) partly, because they-feared. Then he-rushed  
 e senatu, triumphans gaudio, quem omnino  
 from the senate, triumphing with-joy, who altogether  
 non oportuerat exire illuc vivum;  
 'ought not 'to-have-been-allowed to-depart thence alive  
 præsertim cum ille idem, paucis diebus  
 especially when this same (Catiline), a few days  
 ante, in eodem ordine, respondisset  
 before, in this-same order (of the senate), had-replied  
 Catoni, fortissimo viro, minitanti ac denuntianti  
 to-Cato, a most-valiant man, threatening and announcing  
 iudicium, si quod incendium excitatum esset  
 a capital-trial, (that) if any conflagration should-be-kindled  
 in suas fortunas, se non restincturum id  
 against his fortunes, (that) he 'would not 'extinguish it  
 aquâ sed ruinâ.  
 by-water but by-ruin.

26. Commotus tum his rebus, et quòd sciebam  
 Moved then by-these things, and because I knew

jam tum homines conjuratos deduci in  
 (that) already then men banded-together were-led into  
 campum a Catilinâ cum gladiis,  
 the Campus Martius by Catiline (armed) with swords, 'I (also)  
 descendi in campum cum firmissimo præsidio  
 'went-down into the campus with a strong guard  
 fortissimorum virorum, et cum illâ latâ que insigni  
 of-very-brave men, and with that broad and conspicuous  
 loricâ, non quæ tegeret me (etenim sciebam,  
 breast-plate, not that-it might-defend me, (for I-knew, (that)  
 Catilinam non solere petere latus aut  
 Catiline 'was no: 'used to-aim at the sides or  
 ventrem, sed caput et collum), verum  
 the 'fore-part-of-the-body, but at the head and neck), but

ut omnes boni animadverterent, et cum  
that all good (citizens) might-notice (it), both when

viderent consulem in metu, et periculo,  
they-might-perceive the consul in fear, and in-danger, (and)

id quod est factum, concurrerent ad meum  
that which was-done, (that) they-would-assemble to my

præsidium que opem. Itaque cum putarent te,  
protection and assistance. Therefore when they-thought you,

Servi, remissiore in petendo,  
O Servius, (to be) more relax in seeking-for (the consulship), (and)

viderent Catilinam inflammatum, et spe et  
saw Catiline inflamed, both with-hope and

cupiditate, omnes, qui cupiebant depellere illam  
desire, all (those), who desired to-repel that

pestem ab republica, statim contulerunt se ad  
pest from the republic, immediately went-over to

Murenam. Autem consularibus comitiis, magna  
Murena. But in-the-consular comitia, (of) great-importance,

est repentina inclinatio voluntatum, præsertim cum  
is a-sudden turn of-will, especially when

incubuit ad bonum virum, et ornatum  
it-rests-on (and is inclined) to a good man, and provided

multis aliis adjumentis petitionis. Qui  
with-many other aids (in) seeking (the consulship). Who

cum honestissimo patre atque majoribus,  
as (he was) of-a-most-worthy father and ancestors,

adolescentiâ modestissimâ,  
was distinguished) by-a-youth (of) much-modesty (and self-control),

legatione clarissimâ, præturâ probatâ  
in (his) 'lieutenancy greatly-distinguished, 'in (his) 'prætorship approved

jure, gratâ in munere, in provinciâ  
legal-affairs, acceptable in his public shows, in (his) province

ornatâ; diligenter petisset,  
every-thing-required-being-supplied; he-diligently sought (the con-

et ita petisset ut neque cederet  
sulship), and so sought (it), that 'he neither 'yielded to (those)

minanti, neque minaretur cuicumque;  
threatening (him), nor did-he-threaten any-one:

mirandum est                      subitam                      spem                      Catilinæ  
 is-it-to-be-wondered-at (that) the sudden                      hope                      of-Catiline  
 adipiscendi                      consulatus                      fuisse                      magno                      adjumento  
 of-obtaining                      the consulship                      was                      a-great                      and  
 nuic ?  
 to-him ?

Est nunc ille tertius locus mihi                      orationis  
 There is now that third part for-me of (my) speech  
 de                      criminibus                      ambitûs,                      perpurgatus                      ab iis,  
 concerning                      the crimes                      of-bribery,                      fully-cleared-up                      by those,  
 qui dixerunt ante me,                      retractandus                      a  
 who have-spoken before me, (but which) is-again-to-be-gone-over by  
 iæ, quoniam Murena voluit                      ita; in quo loco  
 me, because Murena wished (it to be) so; in which place  
 respondebo                      Postumio                      meo                      familiari,  
 I-will-reply                      to-Postumius                      my                      intimate-friend, (and)  
 ornatissimo                      viro,                      de                      indicibus  
 most-accomplished                      man,                      concerning                      the discoveries  
 divisorum,                      et                      de                      pecuniis  
 of-the-distributors-of-bribes,                      and                      concerning                      the sums-of-money  
 deprehensis;                      ingenioso et bono  
 seized                      (in their hands); 'to (that)                      'talented                      and good  
 adolescenti,                      Ser. Sulpicio,                      de                      centuriis  
 young-man,                      Ser. Sulpicius,                      concerning                      the centuries  
 equitum; M. Catoni, homini excellenti in omni  
 of-the-knights; to-M. Cato,                      a man                      excelling                      in                      every  
 virtute,                      de                      ipsius                      accusatione,                      de  
 virtue,                      concerning                      his                      accusation,                      respecting  
 senatusconsulto,                      de                      republica.  
 the-decree-of-the-senate, (and) respecting                      the republic.

27. Sed prius, conquerar                      pauca                      de  
 But first, I-may-complain (of) a few-things respecting  
 fortunâ L. Murenæ, quæ repente moverunt  
 (the hard) fortune of-L. Murena, which 'have suddenly                      'excited  
 meum animum. Nam cum sæpe antea, iudices,  
 my mind. Now as 'I-have often heretofore, O judges,  
 et ex miseriis aliorum, et ex meis quotidianis  
 both from the miseries of-others, and from my                      daily

curis que laboribus, judicarem eos homines fortunatos,  
sares and labours, 'judged those men fortunate,

qui, remoti a studiis ambitionis, secuti sunt otium  
who, remote from the pursuits of-ambition, have-sought-after ease

ac tranquillitatem vitæ: vero tum in his tantis,  
and tranquillity of-life: but moreover in these so-great

que tam improvisis periculis L. Murenæ, sum ita  
and so unexcited dangers of-L. Murena, I-am so

affectus animo, ut queam non satis miserari,  
affected 'in (my) 'mind, that I-can not sufficiently commiserate,

neque communem conditionem nostrum omnium,  
neither the common condition of-us all,

neque eventum que fortunam hujus;  
nor the lot and fortune of-this (man, Murena);

qui, primum, dum conatus est adscendere unum  
who, firstly, when he-attempted to-ascend one

gradum dignitatis, ex continuis honoribus  
degree (higher in) dignity, from the continued honours

familiz que majorum, venit in periculum,  
(of office) 'of (his) 'family and ancestors, gets in danger,

ne amittat ea, quæ relicta sunt,  
lest he-may-lose those (honours), which have-been-left (him by his

quæ parta sunt ipso; deinde,  
ancestors), (and) those-which were-obtained by-himself; then,

propter studium novæ laudis,  
on-account-of (his) pursuit of-new praise (and honours of office),

etiam adducitur in discrimen veteris  
he also 'is-led into danger (of losing his) ancient

fortunæ. Quæ cum sint gravia, judices,  
fortune. Which as they-may-be serious (things), O judges,

tum illud est acerbissimum, quod habet eos  
yet that is harshest, that he-has those

accusatores, qui non odio inimicitarum  
as-accusers, who (are) not (induced) by-the-hatred of-animosities

ad accusandum, sed qui studio accusandi  
to accuse, but who 'in (their) 'zeal of-accusing

descenderunt ad inimicitias. Nam, ut omittam  
have-descended to enmities. For, that I-may-omit



**Servium Sulpicium, quem intelligo, permotum**  
 Servius Sulpicius, whom (as) I-understand, was-moved  
**non injuriâ L. Murenæ,**  
 (and urged to action) not 'by (any) 'injury (received from) L. Murena.  
**sed contentione honoris; Cn. Postumius**  
 but in-a-contest for-the-honours (of office); Cn. Postumius  
**amicus paternus accusat, ut ipse ait**  
 friend (of) the family accuses (him, and) as he-himself says  
**vetus vicinus ac necessarius, qui protulit**  
 an old neighbour and acquaintance, who has-produced  
**complures causas necessitudinis, potuit commemorare**  
 many instances of-friendship, (but) could remember  
**nullam simultatis; Ser. Sulpicius accusat,**  
 none of-hatred; Ser. Sulpicius (the younger) accuses (him),  
**sodalis filii, cujus ingenio**  
 (and who is) the companion 'of (his) [Murena's] son, 'by whose 'talents  
**omnes necessarii paterni debebant esse**  
 all the friends (of his) father ought to-be (made);  
**munitiores; M. Cato accusat, qui quanquam**  
 more-secure; M. Cato accuses, (him), who though  
**unquam fuit, nulla re, alienus a Murenâ,**  
 'he never 'was, in-any thing, estranged from Murena,  
**tamen natus erat nobis, in hac civitate, eâ**  
 yet he-was-born among-us, in this city, under-such  
**conditione, ut ejus opes et ingenium deberent**  
 circumstances, that his assistance and talents ought  
**esse præsidio multis, etiam alienissimis,**  
 to-be a protection to-many, even to-the-greatest-strangers, (and)  
**vix exitio cuiquam inimico. Igitur**  
 scarcely the ruin (of) any (personal) enemy. 'I-will therefore  
**primum respondebo Postumio, qui, nescio quo pacto**  
 first 'reply to-Postumius, who, I-know-not why  
**videtur mihi, candidatus prætorius**  
 seems to-me, (being as he is) a candidate (for the) prætorship  
**in consularem, quasi desultorius**  
 (to run) against the consular (competitor), like-as-if a-vaulter-on-horses  
**incurrere in quadrigarum curiculam. Si cujus**  
 were-to jump into a-four-horse chariot. If his

competitores deliquerunt nihil, concessit eorum  
 competitors had-been-wanting in-nothing, he-yielded to-their  
 dignitati, cum destitit petere; autem  
 worth, when he-desisted from-seeking (the prætorship); but  
 sin aliquis eorum largitus est, amicus  
 if any-one of-them had-been-guilty-of-bribery, a friend  
 expetendus est, qui potius persequatur alienam  
 is-to-be-sought, who 'would rather 'prosecute another's  
 injuriam, quam suam. \* \* \*  
 injury, than his-own. \* \* \*

28. Nunc venio ad M. Catonem, quod est  
 'I now 'come to M. Cato, (and) this is  
 firmamentum ac robur totius accusationis, qui  
 the support and strength of-the-whole accusation, who  
 tamen est ita gravis et vehemens accusator, ut  
 however is so severe and vehement an accuser, that  
 pertimescam multo magis ejus auctoritatem  
 I-fear much more his authority (and weight  
 quam criminationem. In quo  
 of character), than (his) accusation. As-respects this  
 accusatore, judices, ego primum deprecabor  
 accuser, O judges, I 'shall in-the-first-place 'earnestly-entreat  
 illud, illius dignitas ne quid  
 (of you) this, (that) his [Cato's] dignity 'may not (be of) any  
 noceat L. Murenæ, ne quid expectatio  
 'injury to-L. Murena, nor any (his) expectation  
 tribunatûs, ne quid splendor et gravitas  
 of-the-tribuneship, nor any (his) splendour and solidity-of-character.

totius vitæ; denique ea bona  
 'of (his) 'whole life; in-fine (that) those qualities (and ad-

M. Catonis, quæ ille adeptus est, ut  
 vantages) of-M. Cato, which he has-obtained, that  
 posset prodesse multis, ne obsint huic  
 he-might be-useful to-many, 'may not 'be-an-injury to-him  
 soli. L. Africanus fuerat bis consul, et deleverat  
 alone. L. Africanus had-been twice consul, and had-destroyed  
 duos terrores hujus imperii Carthaginem que  
 the two (great) terrors of-this empire Carthage and

Naumantiam, cum accusavit L. Cottam. Erat in  
 Numantia, when he-accused L. Cotta. There-was in  
 eo summa eloquentia, summa fides, summa  
 him the most-perfect eloquence, the greatest good-faith, the greatest  
 integritas, auctoritas tanta quanta Romani  
 integrity, (his) authority (was) as-great as-that of-the-Roman  
 populi, in imperio ipso, quod tenebatur  
 people, in the empire itself, which was-defended (and preserved)  
 illius operâ. Sæpe audiivi majores natu  
 'by his 'exertion. 'I-have often 'heard old-men  
 dicere hoc, hanc eximiam dignitatem  
 say this, (that) this very-great dignity (and authority)  
 accusatoris plurimum profuisse L. Cottæ.  
 of-the-accuser 'was (of) very-great 'advantage to-L. Cotta.  
 Sapientissimi homines, qui tum judicabant illam  
 The very-wise men, who then judged this  
 rem, noluerunt quemquam ita cadere in  
 cause, did-not-wish (that) any-one 'should so lose-his-cause in  
 judicio, ut videretur abjectus nimis  
 court, that it-might-seem he-was-borne-down by-the-too-great  
 viribus adversarii. Quid? Non ne Romanus  
 power 'of (his) 'adversary. What-then? 'Did not the Roman  
 populus (nam traditum est memoriæ) eripuit  
 people (for it-is-preserved-in (our) memory) 'deliver  
 Ser. Galbam tuo proavo, M. Catoni, fortissimo  
 Ser. Galba from-your great-grandfather, M. Cato, a very-brave  
 atque florentissimo viro, incumbenti ad ejus  
 and very-distinguished man, (who was) bent on his  
 perniciem. Semper in hac civitate, et universus  
 destruction. Always in this city, both the entire  
 populus, et sapientes judices, ac prospicientes in  
 people, and wise judges, and looking-for into  
 posterum, restiterunt nimis magnis opibus accu-  
 the future, have-resisted the too great power of-ac-  
 torum. Nolo accusator afferat potentiam  
 eusers. I-do-not-wish (that) an accuser should-bring power  
 in iudicium, non aliquam majorem vim,  
 to the trial, nor any greater force (than common-

non excellentem auctoritatem, non nimiam  
 nor excelling authority (and character), nor too-great  
 gratiam. Omnia hæc valeant ad salutem  
 influence. All these are-of-avail (and to be used) for the safety  
 innocentium, ad opem impotentium, ad auxilium  
 of-the-innocent, for the assistance of-the-weak, for the aid  
 calamitosorum: vero in periculo, et in perniciæ  
 of-the-unfortunate: but in danger, and in the ruin  
 civium, repudientur. Nam si quis forte  
 of citizens, they-are-to-be-rejected. For if any-one by-chance  
 dicet hoc, Catonem non fuisse descensurum  
 should-say this, (that) Cato 'would not have descended  
 ad accusandum, nisi prius  
 to accuse, unless 'he-had previously (examined into, and)  
 judicasset de causâ; instituet,  
 formed-a-judgment (and opinion) concerning the cause; it-will-establish  
 judices, iniquam legem, et miseram conditionem  
 O judges, an unjust law, and a miserable condition  
 periculis hominum, si existimabit, judicium  
 for-the-dangers of-men, if it-be-held, (that) the judgment  
 accusatoris in reum oportere valere  
 of-the-accuser against the defendant ought to-have-force (against  
 pro aliquo præjudicio.  
 him) like some legal-precedent.

29. Ego, Cato, audeo non, propter singulare

I, O Cato, dare not, on-account-of the singular (great)

judicium mei animi de tuâ virtute, vituperare  
 opinion (formed in) my mind of your virtue, censure  
 tuum consilium; forsitan possim, in  
 your determination (in this case); perhaps I-may-be-able, in  
 nonnullâ re conformare et leviter emendare.  
 some things to-mould and slightly to-amend (it).

“Non peccas multa,” inquit ille senior magister  
 “You-do not offend much,” said that aged instructor  
 fortissimo viro; “sed, si peccas possum regere  
 to-a-very-brave man; “but, if you-do-offend I-can rule  
 te.” At ego verissime dixerim,  
 you (and set you right).” But I may most-truly say, (that)

te peccare nihil, neque in ullâ re esse te  
 you offend (in) nothing, nor (that) in any thing are you  
 hujusmodi, ut videre potius corrigendus,  
 of-that-nature, that you-may-see rather (to require) to-be-corrected.  
 quàm leviter inflectendus. Enim natura ipsa  
 than 'to-be gently 'put-right. For nature herself  
 finxit te ad honestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam,  
 formed you for honesty, gravity, temperance,  
 magnitudinem animi, justitiam, denique ad omnes  
 greatness of-mind, justice, (and) in-fine for all  
 virtutes, magnum et excelsum  
 (those) virtues, (that constitute) a great and distinguished  
 hominem. Istuc accessit doctrinâ  
 man. To-this acceded a system-of-doctrines (and precepts)  
 non moderata, nec mitis, sed, ut videtur mihi  
 not moderate, nor mild, but, as it-seems to-me  
 paullo asperior, et durior, quàm aut veritas aut  
 somewhat harsher, and more-severe, than either truth or  
 natura patiatur. Et quoniam hæc oratio non  
 nature may-allow. And because this speech 'is not  
 habenda est nobis, aut cum imperitâ multitudine,  
 to-be-delivered (by) us, either before an ignorant multitude,  
 aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, disputabo paullo  
 or in some assemblage of-rustics, I-will-discourse somewhat  
 audacius de studiis humanitatis, quæ sunt  
 more-boldly concerning the studies of-polite-literature, which are  
 nota et jucunda et mihi et vobis. Scitote,  
 known and agreeable both to-me and you. Know (then),  
 judices, hæc divina et egregia bona, quæ  
 O judges, (that) those divine and admirable qualities, which  
 videmus, in M. Catone, esse ipsius propria.  
 we-see, in M. Cato, are his peculiar-property.  
 Quæ nonnunquam requiremus, omnia ea sunt  
 What 'we sometimes 'reprehend, all such are  
 non a naturâ, sed a magistro.  
 (derived) not from nature, but from (the instruction of) a master.  
 Enim fuit quidam vir summo ingenio,  
 For there-was a certain man (of) the greatest talents, (named)



**Zeno, æmuli** **cujus inventorum**  
 Zeno, the admirers (and followers) of-whose discoveries (and doctrines);  
**nominantur Stoici. Hujus sententiæ et præcepta**  
 are called Stoics. His opinions and precepts  
**sunt ejusmodi: sapientem nunquam moveri**  
 are of-this-sort: (that) the-wise-man 'is never 'moved  
**gratiâ; nunquam ignoscere delicto cujusquam;**  
 by-favours; (that) 'he never 'forgives the-crime of-any-one;  
**neminem esse misericordem, nisi stultum et**  
 (that) no one is merciful, unless a fool and  
**levem; non esse viri neque**  
 a trifler; (that) 'it-does not 'belong-(to)-a-man (to allow himself) either  
**exorari, neque placari; sapientes solos**  
 to-be-intreated, or to-be-propitiated; (that) the wise only  
**esse formosos, si sint distortissimi;**  
 are beautiful, though they-may-be the-most-distorted (in person);  
**si mendicissimi, divites;**  
 (that) if (they are) the poorest-beggars, (yet they are) rich; (that)  
**si serviant servitutem, reges; autem**  
 if they are in slavery, (yet they are) kings; but  
**dicant, nos, qui sumus non sapientes, esse**  
 they-say, (that) we, who are not wise, are  
**fugitivos, exsules, hostes, denique insanos;**  
 fugitives, exiles, enemies, in-fine mad-men; (they say that)  
**omnia peccata esse paria; omne delictum esse**  
 all sins are equal; (that) every offence is  
**nefarium scelus; nec eum delinquere**  
 a nefarious crime; nor (that) he 'does (not) 'offend  
**minus, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum fuerit**  
 less, who (killed) a cock, when there was  
**non opus, quàm eum, qui suffocavit patrem;**  
 no necessity, than he, who suffocated (his) father; (that)  
**sapientem opinari nihil, poenitere**  
 the-wise-man believes nothing (till fully convinced), (that) he-repents  
**nullius rei, falli in nullâ re, nunquam**  
 of no thing, (that) he-is-deceived in no thing, (that) he never  
**mutare sententiam.**  
 changes (his) opinion.

30. Ingeniosissimus homo, M. Cato, arripuit hæc,  
 The most-talented man, M. Cato, adopted these  
 inductus eruditissimis  
 opinions and doctrines of Zeno), induced-thereto by-the-most-learned  
 auctoribus; neque causâ disputandi,  
 writers; (and this) not for-the-purpose of-disputing (about them)  
 ut magna pars, sed vivendi ita.  
 as the great part (of men do), but of-living as (they prescribe)  
 Publicani petunt aliquid? "Cave  
 'Do the farmers-of-the-revenues 'petition-for any-thing? "Take-care  
 gratia habeat quidquam momenti."  
 (lest) influence have any-thing of-weight (with you)."  
 Aliqui miseri et calamitosi veniunt  
 'Do some miserable and unfortunate (persons) 'come (to you)  
 supplices? "Fueris sceleratus et nefarius,  
 as suppliants? "You-will-be a wicked and criminal (man),  
 si feceris quidquam, adductus misericordiâ."  
 if you-do any-thing, induced by-mercy." 'Does  
 Aliquis fatetur se peccasse, et petit veniam  
 any-one confess (that) he has-done-wrong, and asks-for pardon  
 ejus delicti? "Ignoscere facinus est nefarium."  
 (for) his offence? "To-pardon crime is wicked."  
 At delictum est leve. "Omnia peccata sunt paria."  
 But the fault is trifling. "All offences are equal."  
 Dixisti quidpiam? "Est fixum et statutum."  
 Have-you-said any-thing? "It is fixed and determined."  
 Non ductus esre, sed opinione.  
 'You-were not induced by-the-thing (itself), but by-supposition.  
 "Sapiens opinatur nihil." Errasti in aliquâ  
 "A wise man supposes nothing." You-may-have-erred in some  
 re. Putat maledici.  
 thing. He-considers (himself) to-be-calumniated (by this remark).  
 Illa sunt nobis, ex hac disciplinâ. "Dixi  
 These are (the results) for-us, from this doctrine. "I-said  
 in senatu, me delaturum nomen consularis  
 in the senate, (that) I would-announce the name of-a-consular  
 candidati."  
 candidate ('or impeachment)" (But) you-said (it when) angry.

\* Nunquam, inquit, sapiens irascitur." At  
 "Never, says-he, 'does a wise-man 'get-angry." But

causâ temporis,  
 (it may have been said) by-reason (of some peculiar) circumstance,

inquit, "est improbi hominis fallere  
 he-replies, "it-is (the part) of-a-dishonest man to-deceive

mendacio; est turpe mutare sententiam;  
 by-a-falsehood; it-is shameful to-change (one's) opinion; (to allow

exorari, scelus; misereri,  
 one's self) to-be-entreated, is a crime; (and) to-pity, (is)

flagitium." Autem illi nostri (enim  
 infamy." But those our (masters and teachers) (for

fatebor, Cato, me quoque in adolescentiâ,  
 I-will-confess, O Cato, (that) I also in (my) youth,

diffisum meo ingenio, quæsisse adjumenta  
 diffident (of) my-own talents, sought the assistance

doctrinæ, illi nostri, inquam,  
 of-the-doctrine (of philosophers), those our (teachers), I-say,

a Platone et  
 (who derived their doctrine, and principles) from Plato and

Aristotele, moderati et temperati  
 Aristotle, (and who were) moderate and temperate

homines, aiunt, gratiam aliquando valere  
 men, say, (that) favour 'does sometimes 'have-an-influence

apud sapientem; boni viri  
 with a-wise-man; (that it is the part) of-a-good man

misereri, esse distincta genera  
 to-pity, (that) there-are distinct kinds (and degrees)

delictorum, et dispare poenas; esse  
 of-crimes, and different (grades of) punishments; (that) there-is

locum ignoscendi apud constantem  
 a place for-forgiveness (even) with a firm-and-determine

hominem; sapientem ipsum, sæpe opinari  
 man; (that) the-wise-man himself, often forms-an-opinion (about)

aliquid, quod nesciat; nonnunquam  
 something, that he-does-not-know (for certain); (that) 'he sometimes

irasci; eundem exorari et placari;  
 get-angry; (that) he the-same may-be-entreated and propitiated;

quod interdum dixerit, si sit  
 that-which 'he-may-have occasionally 'said, if it-should-be  
 rectius ita, mutare; aliquando decedere  
 more-proper so, he-changes; 'he sometimes 'recedes  
 de sententiâ; omnes virtutes moderatas esse  
 from (his) opinion; (that) all virtues are-to-be-regulated  
 quadam mediocritate.  
 by a certain (degree of) moderation.

31. Si, Cato, cum istâ naturâ,  
 If, O Cato, with this (good) natural-disposition, (which  
 qua fortuna detulisset te ad hos  
 you possess,) any (good) fortune had-brought you to these  
 magistros, tu non quidem esses melior vir,  
 instructors, you 'would not indeed 'have-been a better man,  
 nec fortior, nec temperantior, nec justior (neque  
 nor more-brave, nor more-temperate, nor more-just (nor  
 enim potes esse) sed paullo propensior ad lenitatem.  
 indeed can-you be) but a little more-inclined to lenity

Non accusares adductus nullis inimiciis,  
 'You-would not 'accuse (when) led-thereto by-no animosities,

laccessitus nullâ injuriâ, pudentissimum  
 (or) provoked by-no injury, a most-modest (and worthy)  
 hominem, præditum summâ dignitate atque  
 man, endowed with-the-highest dignity-of-rank and  
 honestate; putares cum fortuna posuisset te  
 integrity; you-might-think when fortune had-placed you  
 atque L. Murenâ in custodiâ ejusdem anni,  
 and L. Murena in the guardianship of-the-same year,

te conjunctum esse cum hoc vinculo  
 (that) you were-united with him 'by (the political) 'ties  
 reipublicæ; quod dixisti atrociter in senatu,  
 of-the-republic; that-which you-said so-severely in the senate,

aut non dixisses, aut seposuisses  
 'you-would either not 'have-said, or would-have-put-it-aside,

aut interpretarere in  
 'and not applied it to him), or would-have-explained (it) in  
 mitiorem partem. Ac te ipsum (quantum ego  
 'milder manner. And (that) you yourself (as-much-as 1

opinione auguror) nunc et concitatum  
 in (my) opinion (may) predict) now both excited  
 quodam impetu animi, et elatum vi naturæ  
 by-a-certain impulse of-the-mind, and elated by-the-force of-nature  
 atque ingenii, et flagrantem recentibus studiis  
 and of-genius, and inflamed by-the-recent studies  
 præceptorum usus jam flectet,  
 of-the-precepts (of the Stoics), experience 'will at-some-time 'bend,  
 dies leniet, ætas mitigabit. Etenim isti ipsi,  
 time soften, (and) age render-milder. For these same,  
 vestri præceptores et magistri virtutis, videntur  
 your preceptors and instructors (in) virtue, seem  
 mihi protulisse fines officiorum, paullo longius,  
 to-me to-have-carried the limits of-duty, a little farther,  
 quam natura vellet; ut cum, animâ, contendissimus  
 than nature requires; so-that when, in-mind, we-had-striven  
 ad ultimum, tamen consisteremus  
 (to reach) to the ultimate (limits), yet we-should-stop-short  
 ibi, ubi oportet. "Ignoveris nihil."  
 there, where it-is-proper (to do so). "Pardon nothing" (you say).  
 Immo aliquid, non omnia.  
 Indeed (truly); something (may be pardoned, but) not all.  
 "Feceris nihil causâ gratiæ." Immo resistito  
 "Do nothing by-reason of-favour." Yes-indeed resist  
 gratiæ cum officium et fides postulabit. "Sis  
 favour, (but only) when duty and good-faith will-require-it. "Be  
 ne commotus misericordiâ." Etiam, in dissolvenda  
 not moved by-pity." Certainly, in relaxing  
 severitate; sed tamen est aliqua laus  
 (proper) severity; but yet there-is some praise (for)  
 humanitatis. Permaneto in sententiâ. Vero,  
 humanity. Abide in (your) opinion. True,  
 nisi alia melior vicerit sententiam.  
 unless another better (opinion) should-prevail-over (your) opinion.  
 Ille Scipio fuit hujusmodi, quem  
 The (great) Scipio was (a man) of-this-kind, (to) whom 'it-caused  
 non poenitebat facere idem, quod tu; habere  
 no 'regret to-do the same, that you (do); (and) to-have



eruditissimum, et pæne divinum hominem domi;  
 a most-learned, and nearly divine man 'in (his) 'house;

cujus oratione et præceptis, quanquam erant  
 'by whose 'discourse and precepts, although they were

ista eadem, quæ delectant te, tamen non  
 the very same, which (so) delight you, yet 'he-was not

factus est asperior, sed (ut accepi a senibus),  
 'made more-austere, but (as I-have-heard from old-men),

lenissimus. Quis vero comior,  
 most-mild. Who indeed (was) more-civil-and-obliging, (than)

C. Lælio? quis jucundior ex isto  
 C. Lælius? who more-agreeable, (than he, though formed) by these

eodem studio? quis gravior sapientior  
 same studies (that you are)? who more-grave (and) wise

illo? Possum dicere hæc eadem de  
 (than) he? I-can say these same (things) concerning

L. Philo, de C. Gallo; sed deducam te  
 L. Philus, (and) concerning C. Gallus; but I-will-conduct you

jam tuam domum. Ne existimas quemquam fuisse  
 now to-your-own home. Do-you-think any-one was

commodiorem, comiorem, moderatiorem ad omnem  
 milder, more-obliging, more-moderate as-respects all

rationem humanitatis, Catone tuo pro-  
 the relations of-humanity (and life), (than) Cato your great-

avo. Cum vere que graviter diceret de  
 grandfather. When 'you truly and gravely 'spoke of

præstanti virtute cuius, dixisti te habere  
 of-the-eminent virtue of-this (man), you-said (that) you had

domesticum exemplum ad imitandum. Illud quidem  
 a domestic example to imitate. That indeed

est exemplum propositum tibi domi; sed  
 is an example offered to-you 'in (your own) 'family; but

tamen similitudo illius naturæ potuit  
 however the resemblance of-his nature (and endowments) could

magis pervenire ad te, qui ortus es ab illo,  
 more-easily arrive to you, who are-descended from him,

quam ad unumquemque nostrum; vero illud  
 than to any-one of-us; but that

exemplar tam propositum mihi ad imitandum,  
 example 'is as-much 'offered to-me for imitation,  
 quàm tibi. Sed, si adperseris illius comitatem  
 as to-you. But, if you-would-have-mingled his obliging-civility  
 et facilitatem, tuæ gravitati quæ severitati, ista  
 and affability, (with) your gravity and severity, those  
 quidem non erunt meliora, quæ nunc  
 (things) indeed 'will not 'be better, which now  
 sunt optima, sed certe jucundius  
 are excellent, but certainly (will become) more-agreeable (when)  
 condita.  
 seasoned.

32. Quare, ut revertar ad id, quod institui,  
 Wherefore, that I-may-revert to that, which I-had-proposed,  
 tolle mihi nomen Catonis e causâ; remove  
 take-away for-me the name of-Cato from the cause; remove  
 ac prætermitte auctoritatem, quæ in judiciis  
 and make-no-mention-of authority, which in trials  
 debet, aut valere nihil, aut valere ad salutem;  
 ought, either to-avail nothing, or (ought) to-avail for the safety  
 congregere cum me criminibus ipsis.  
 (of the accused); attack with me the crimes themselves

Quid accusas, Cato?  
 (that he is charged with). What do-you-accuse-him-of, O Cato.

quid affers in iudicium? quid arguis? Accusas  
 what do-you-bring to trial? what do-you-prove? Do-you-accuse

ambitum? Non defendo. Reprehendis  
 (him of) bribery? 'I-do not 'defend (bribery). You-reprehend

me, quod defendam idem, quod punierim  
 me, that I-defend the same, which I-would-have-punished

lege. Punivi ambitum, non innocentiam  
 by-a-law (of my proposing). I-punished bribery, not innocent

Vero ambitum ipsum, accusabo vel cum te, si  
 But bribery itself, I-will-accuse even with yourself, if

voles. Dixisti senatusconsultum fac-  
 you-desire (it). You-have-said (that) a decree-of-the-senate was-

tum esse, me referente, "si corrupti  
 made, I proposing-it, (as thus) "if (persons) corrupted

mercede                      issent                      obviam candidatis, **¶**  
 by-recompense [bribery] should-go-out                      to-meet                      the candidates, if

conducti                      sectarentur,                      si locus  
 hired-persons attend-and-follow (them), if a place (were given free)

vulgo                      tributum                      gladiatoribus, et  
 to-the-common-people by-tribes (in shows of) the gladiators, and

item, si prandia data essent vulgo,  
 also, if dinners were-given to-the-common-people, (this would

videri factum contra Calpurniam legem." Ergo  
 all) seem done against the Calpurnian law." Therefore

senatus ita judicat, hæc videri facta  
 the senate so decided, (that) these (things) seemed to-have-been-done

contra legem, si facta sint; decernit, quod est  
 against the law, if they-were-done; it-decreed, what there-is

nihil opus, dum morem gerit candidatis.  
 no occasion-for, while it-complied-with-the-wishes (of the) candidates.

Nam factum sit, nec ne, vehementer quæritur.  
 For (if) done, or not, 'is vehemently 'questioned.

Si factum sit, quin sit contra legem, nemo potest  
 If it-is-done, but-that it-is contrary to-the-law, no-one can

dubitare. Est igitur ridiculum, relinquere id  
 doubt. It-is therefore ridiculous, to-leave that

incertum, quod est dubium; quod potest esse  
 uncertain, which is doubtful; that-which can be

dubium nemini, id judicare. Atqui  
 a doubt to-no-one, that determine (and decide on). But-now

id decernitur, omnibus candidatis postulanti-  
 bus: that (decree) was-passed, all the candidates asking-for it:

ut ex senatusconsulto, possit neque  
 so-that from the-decree-of-the-senate, it-can neither

intelligi cujus intersit, neque  
 be-understood 'for whose 'advantage, or interest it-might-be, nor

contra quem sit. Quare doce illa  
 against whom it-might-be. Therefore show (that) that

commissa esse a L. Murenâ; tum egomet  
 was-done by L. Murena; then I-myself

concedam tibi commissam esse contra legem.  
 will-concede to-you (that) it-was-done contrary to-law.

88. "Multi prodierunt obviam decedenti de

"Many went-out to-meet-him returning from (his) provinciâ, petenti consulatum." Solet fieri. province, seeking the consulship." It-is-the-custom to-do-so.

Autem eccui non proditur revertenti? But to-whom 'do (persons) not 'go-out-to-meet returning

Quæ multitudo ista fuit!" Primum, (from abroad)? What a multitude this was!" In-the-first-place,

si possim non reddere rationem istam tibi; quid if I-can not explain this to-you; what

habet admirationis, multos prodisse obviam is-there wonderful, (that) many (persons) went-out to-meet

tali viro advenienti, consulari candidato? Quod such a man coming, (as) a consular candidate? Which

nisi factum esset, videretur magis mirandum. unless it-had-been-done, would-seem the more to-be-wondered-at.

Quid? si etiam addam illud, quod non abhorret What-then? if 'I also 'add this, which is not contrary

a consuetudine, multos rogatos esse? num sit to custom, (that) many were-invited? whether is-it

aut criminis, aut mirandum, in civitate quâ either criminal, or to-be-wondered-at, in a city (in) which

rogati soleamus venire deductum filios 'we, (when) 'asked are-accustomed to come to-escort the sons

hominum infimorum, prope de of-men of-the-lower-order, (when candidates), nearly when

nocte, sæpe ex ultimâ yet night, [at early dawn of day], often from the extreme (part of)

urbe, in eâ homines esse non gravatos the city, (that) in that men are not burdened (when)

prodire tertiâ horâ in Campum they-go-forth at-the-third hour [nine o'clock] into the Campus

Martium, præsertim, rogatos nomine talis Martius, especially, (when) invited in-the-name of-such

viri? Quid? Si omnes societates a man (as Murena)? What? If all the societies (of knights;

venerunt, ex numero quorum, mult. had-come (to meet him), out-of the number of-whom, many

sedent hîc judices? quid? si multi homines nostri  
sit here (at judges? what? if many men of-our

honestissimi ordinis? quid? si illa  
most-honourable order (had gone)? what? if that

officiosissima tota natio candidatorum, quæ  
most officious (body) the whole nation of-candidates, which

patitur neminem introire in urbem non  
suffers no-one to-enter into the city not

honeste? denique si  
in-an-honourable-way, (had gone out to meet him)? in-fine if

accusator, noster Postumius ipse, venit obviam  
the accuser, our Postumius himself, had-come to-meet-him

cum bene magnâ catervâ suâ;  
with a very large crowd (of) his (followers and dependants);

quid habet ista multitudo admirationis?  
what has this multitude of admiration, (or what that may

Omitto clientes, vicinos  
excite our surprise)? I-omit (his) clients, (his) neighbours,

tribules, totum exercitum Luculli, qui venerat,  
those-of-his-tribe, the whole army of-Lucullus, which had-come,

per eos dies ad triumphum; dico hoc,  
on those days to the triumph; I-say this, (that)

gratuitam frequentiam in isto officio,  
a voluntary concourse (of friends) in such kind-offices, 'was

unquam defuisse, non modò dignitati ullius, sed  
never 'wanting, not only to-the-dignity of-any-one, but

ne quidem voluntati. "At multi sectabantur."  
not even to-his-wish. "But many followed-him."

Doce, mercede; concedam esse  
Show, (that it was) for-reward; (and) I-will-concede it-to-be

crimen. Hoc quidem remoto, quid  
a crime. This (reward) indeed being-removed, what

reprehendis?  
do-you-find-fault-with?

34. "Quid opus est, inquit, sectatoribus?"  
"What need is-there, says-he, (of) followers?"

Tu quæris id a me, quid opus sit eo,  
Do you ask that of me, what need may-there-be in-that



quo semper usi sumus? Homines tenues  
 which 'we-have always 'practised? Men (of) humble-rank  
 habent unum locum aut promerendi beneficii  
 have the only opportunity 'of either 'conferring a favour  
 in nostrum ordinem aut referendi, in  
 on our order or of-returning (a benefit received), in  
 hanc operam, atque assecutionem  
 this aid (give us), and (this) attendance (on us),  
 nostris petitionibus. Neque enim potest fieri,  
 in-our seeking-for-office. Neither indeed could (it) be-done,  
 neque postulandum est a nobis. aut ab Romanis  
 nor is-it-required from us, or from the Roman  
 equitibus, ut sectentur candidatos suos  
 knights, that they-should-accompany the candidates their  
 necessarios, totos dies; si nostra domus  
 particular-friends, for-whole days (together); if our house  
 celebratur a quibus, si interdum  
 is-frequented by them, [the senators and knights,] if sometimes  
 deducimur ad forum, si honestamur uno  
 we-are-escorted to the forum (by them), if we-are-honoured with  
 spatio basilicæ, videmur diligenter  
 a turn (round the portico) of-some-basilica, we-seem (to be) diligently  
 observari et coli; ista assiduitas  
 respected and honoured; this assiduity (in attendance)  
 est tenuiorum amicorum, et non  
 is (the part) 'of (our) 'humble friends, and (who are) not  
 occupatorum, quorum copia non solet  
 occupied (with business), whose assistance 'is not 'used  
 deesse bonis et beneficiis. Noli igitur, Cato,  
 to-be-wanting to-the-good and beneficent. Do-not therefore, O Cato,  
 eripere hunc fructum officii inferiori generi  
 take-away this benefit of-duty from-the-inferior class  
 hominum; sine eos, qui sperant omnia a nobis,  
 of-men; allow those-men, who hope all from us,  
 ipsos quoque habere aliquid, quod possint  
 themselves also to-have something, which they-can  
 tribuere nobis. Si erit nihil, præter ipsorum  
 give us. If there-were nothing, except their

suffragium, est tenue; si, ut suffragentur, valent  
 vote, it-is trifling: if, that they-aid-us, they-can-avail

nihil gratiâ. Ipsi denique, ut solent  
 nothing 'by (their) influence. They in-fine, as they-are-accustomed

loqui, possunt non dicere pro nobis, non  
 to-say, can not plead for us, (can) not

spondere, non vocare suam domum  
 go-security (for us), (can) not invite (us) to-their houses

atque petunt omnia hæc a nobis, neque  
 and they-ask all these (things) of us, nor

putant posse compensari, quæ consequuntur  
 do-they-think (that) they-can compensate, that-which they-receive

a nobis ullâ aliâ re, nisi suâ operâ.  
 from us in-any other way, unless 'by (this) 'their assistance

Itaque restiterunt et Fabiæ legi,  
 (and attendance). Consequently they-resisted both the Fabian law,

quæ est de numero sectatorum,  
 which is concerning the number of-followers, (that might be al-

lowed to attend a candidate,) et senatusconsulto, quod  
 and the decree-of-the-senate, which

factum est, L. Cæsare consule. Enim est nulla  
 was-passed, L. Caesar being-consul. For there-is no

pœno, quæ possit excludere observantiam  
 punishment, which can exclude (or prevent) the regard

tenuiorum ab hoc vetere instituto  
 of-the-lower-classes from this ancient custom 'of (showing their)

officiorum. "At spectacula data sunt  
 'duty-and-seal (for a candidate). "But shows were-given

vulgo tributim, et vocati ad  
 to-the-common-people by tribes, and they-were-invited to

prandium." Etsi hoc, iudices, non omnino  
 dinner." Although this, O judges, 'was not at-all

factum est a Murenâ, autem factum est ab ejus  
 'done by Murena, but was-done by his

amicis more et modo; tamen admonitus  
 friends in-accordance-with-custom and mode; however admonished

re ipsa, Servi, recorder quantum  
 by-the-thing itself, O Servius, I-remember how-much-of [how many

punctorum, hæc quæstiones, habitæ in senatu,  
votes, these discussions, had in the senate,

detrazerint nobis. Enim quod tempus fuit, aut  
may-have-taken from-us. For what time was-there, either

nostrâ memoriâ, aut nostrorum patrum, quo  
in-our memory, or (that) of-our fathers, in-which

hæc sive est ambitio, sive liberalitas,  
this (same thing), either be-it ambition, or liberality,

fuerit non, ut locus daretur, et in circo,  
was not, that a place (or seats) might-be-given, both in the circus,

et in foro amicis et tribulibus?  
and in the forum 'to (one's) 'friends and those-of-one's-own-tribe?

Primum hæc homines tenuiores qui nondum  
First these men (of) the-lower-classes, who 'had not-yet

assequebantur a suis tribulibus vetere  
'obtained from their tribe's-men in-accordance-with-old

instituto. \* \* \*  
custom. \* \* \*

35. \* \* \* Præfectum fabrum  
\* \* \* (That) the præfect, (or chief) of-the-artificers

semel dedisse locum suis  
(or military workmen) once gave a place (or seats) to-his

tribulibus: quid statuent in primarios viros,  
tribe's-men: what will-they-decide as-respects eminent men,

qui compararunt totas tabernas in circo, causâ  
who have-prepared entire booths in the circus, for-the-use

tribulium? Item omnia hæc, Servi,  
of (their) tribe's-men? Also all these, O Servius, (accusa-

crimen sectatorum, spectaculorum, prandiorum,  
tions of) the crime of-followers, of-shows, of-dinners,

conjecta sunt a multitudine in tuam nimiam  
are-attributed by the multitude to your too-great

diligentiam; in quibus tamen Murena  
diligence (and scrupulousness); in which however Murena

defenditur ab auctoritate senatûs. Enim quid?  
is-defended by the authority of-the-senate. For what?

Num senatus putat crimen prodire obviam?

Does then the senate 'think (it) a crime to-go-out to-meet (any one)?

"Non; sed mercede." Convince. Num  
 "No; but (if) for-a-reward, (it does)." Prove-it. Does

multos sectari? "Non;  
 (the senate think it a crime, that) many follow? "No,

sed conductos." Doce.  
 but (it does, if they) are-hired." Show, (that Murena has done

Num dare locum ad  
 this). Does (the senate condemn) giving a place (or seats) to  
 spectandum? aut invitare ad prandium?  
 see (the shows)? or to-invite to dinner?

Minime; "sed vulgo passim." Quid  
 Not-in-the-least; "but to-the-multitude without-distinction." What

est vulgo? "Universos." Non  
 is to-the-multitude? "The entire-collection (of citizens)." Not

igitur, si L. Natta, adolescens summo loco,  
 therefore, if L. Natta, a young-man (of) the highest rank,

qui, et videmus quo animo jam sit,  
 who, both we-see (of) what (disposition of) mind 'he now 'may-be,

et qualis vir sit futurus, voluit esse  
 and what (kind of) man he-may-be hereafter, wished to-be

gratiosus, in centuriis equitum, et ad hoc  
 in-favour, with the centuries of-the-knights, both for this

officium necessitudinis, et ad tempus  
 duty of-friendship, (and relationship,) and for the time

reliquum id erit fraudi, aut, crimini  
 to-come, 'will this 'be a crime, or, (cause of) accusation

ejus vitrico; nec, si Vestalis virgo, propinqua  
 'to his step-father; nor, if a Vestal virgin, a relation

et necessaria hujus concessit suum locum  
 and friend of-this (Murena) gave-up her place

gladiatoribus huic, non illa et fecit pie,  
 in the-gladiatorial-exhibitions to-him, 'did not 'she then 'act kindly

et hic remotus est a culpâ. Omnia hæc  
 and he [Murena] is-removed from censure. All these-things

sunt officia necessariorum, commoda  
 are the duties of-friends, the convenience-and-gratifications

tenuiorum, munia candidatorum.  
 of-the-lower-classes, (and) the privileges of-candidates

**At enim Cato agit** **cum me anstere**  
 But indeed Cato acts (and argues) with me austere-ly,  
**et Stoice. Negat esse verum, allici**  
 and like-a-Stoic He-denies (that) it-is proper, to-conciliate  
**benevolentiam cibo; negat iudicium hominum**  
 good-will by-food; he-denies (that) the judgment of-men  
**oportere corrumpi voluptatibus in**  
 ought 'to-be (influenced, or) 'corrupted by-pleasures in  
**mandandis magistratibus. Ergo**  
 confiding (any of) the magistracies (to candidates). Therefore,  
**causâ petitionis, si quis vocat ad cœnam,**  
 in-the-case of-seeking-office, if any-one invites to supper,  
**condemnetur. "Quippe," inquit, "tu**  
 he-may-be-condemned. "For-now-indeed," says-he, 'do "you  
**petas mihi summum imperium, tu**  
 'seek (I would ask) the highest command, (do) you (seek)  
**summam auctoritatem, tu gubernacula**  
 the greatest authority, (do) you (seek) the helm  
**reipublicæ, fovendis sensibus hominum, et**  
 of-the-republic, by-pampering the senses of-men, both  
**deleniendis animis, et adhibendis voluptatibus?**  
 by-soothing the minds, and by-administering pleasures?  
**Utrum," inquit, "petebas lenocinium a**  
 Whether," says-he, "did-you-ask the-station-of-a-pimp from  
**grege delicatæ juventutis, an imperium orbis terrarum**  
 a herd of-effeminate young-men, or the command of-the-world  
**a Romano populo?" Horribilis oratio sed**  
 from the Roman people?" A horrid speech but (our)  
**usus, vita, mores, civitas ipsa**  
 customs, (our modes of) life, (our) manners, the state itself  
**respuit eam. Tamen neque**  
 rejects (and refutes) this. However neither 'did  
**Lacedæmonii, auctores istius vitæ atque**  
 the Lacedæmonians, the authors of this (your mode) of-life and  
**orationis, qui accumbant quotidianis epulis in**  
 of-speaking, who recline to (their) daily meals on  
**robore, neque verò Cretes, nemo quorum**  
 hard-oak (benches), nor indeed the Cretans, no-one of-whom



unquam gustavit cubans, retinuerunt suas  
 over tastes (any thing) reclining, preserve their  
 respublicas melius, quàm Romani homines qui  
 republics better, than the Roman people who  
 dispertiunt tempora voluptatis que laboris :  
 set-apart times (for) pleasure and (times for) labour :  
 quorum alteri deleti sunt uno  
 of-these the-one [the Cretans] were-destroyed (as a nation) by-one  
 adventu nostri exercitûs ; alteri  
 invasion of-our army ; the other [the Lacedæmonians]  
 conservant suam disciplinam que leges, præsidio  
 preserve their discipline and laws, by-the-protection  
 nostri imperii.  
 of-our empire.

36. Quare, Cato, noli reprehendere nimium  
 Wherefore, O Cato, do-not reprehend 'with too  
 severâ oratione instituta majorum, quæ res  
 severe a speech the customs 'of (our) 'ancestors, which the thing  
 ipsa, quæ diuturnitas  
 'self, (in the flourishing state of our affairs), which the long continuance  
 imperii comprobât. Fuit ex eodem  
 'of (our) 'empire has-shown-to-be-good. There-was of the same  
 studio, eruditus vir apud nostros  
 study, [school of the stoics], a learned man among our  
 patres, homo et honestus et nobilis, Q. Tubero.  
 fathers, a man both honest and noble, Q. Tubero  
 Is, cum Q. Maximus daret epulum  
 (by name). He, when Q. Maximus gave a solemn-feast  
 Romano populo nomine sui patris Africani,  
 to-the-Roman people in-memory 'of his 'uncle Africanus,  
 rogatus est a Maximo, ut sterneret triclinium  
 was-requested by Maximus, that he-should-cover the couch,  
 cum Tubero esset filius  
 prepare a banqueting place], as Tubero was the son  
 sororis ejusdem Africani. Atque ille  
 of-the-sister of-the-same Africanus. And he  
 eruditissimus homo, ac Stoicus, stravit  
 a most learned man, and a Stoic, covered (mean-

Punicanos lectulos hædinis pelliculis, et  
 Carthaginian couches with 'little goats' 'skins, and  
 exposuit vasa Samia; quasi vere mortuus  
 set-out vessels (of) Samian-earthenware; as-if indeed the dead  
 cynicus Diogenes honestaretur, et non mors  
 cynic Diogenes were-honoured, and not the death  
 divini hominis Africani; quem, cum Maximus  
 of (that) 'divine man Africanus; whom, when Maximus  
 audaret ejus supremo die egit  
 praised on his last day [day of his death] he-gave  
 gratias immortalibus diis, quòd ille vir  
 thanks to-the-immortal gods, because that man [Africanus] 'was  
 potissimum natus esset, in hac republica; enim  
 more-especially 'born, in this republic; for  
 fuisse necesse, imperium terrarum  
 it-was a necessary (consequence, that) the empire of-the-world  
 esse ibi, ubi ille esset. In  
 must-be there, where he might-be (as a citizen). At  
 celebrandâ morte hujus, Romanus  
 the celebrating (of) the obsequies of-this man, (Africanus), the Roman  
 populus tulit graviter hanc perversam sapientiam  
 people 'were much 'displeased at-this perverse wisdom  
 Tuberonis. Itaque integerrimus homo, et  
 of Tuber. Therefore (he, Tuber,) a most-honest man, and  
 optimus civis, cum esset nepos  
 most-excellent citizen, (and) also-though-he-was the grandson  
 L. Paulli, filius, ut dixi, sororis P. Africani,  
 of-L. Paullus, the son, as I-said, of-the-sister of P. Africanus, (yet)  
 dejectus est præturâ his  
 he-lost (his election, when a candidate for the) prætorship, by-these  
 hædinis pelliculis. Romanus populus odit  
 'little goat 'skins. The Roman people hate  
 privatam luxuriam, diligit publicam magnificentiam,  
 private luxury, (and) love public magnificence,  
 non amat profusas epulas, multò minus  
 they-do not 'love profuse banquets, much less  
 sordes et inhumanitatem. Distinguit  
 sordidness and meanness. 'They distinguish (between)

rationem officiorum ac temporum, vicissitudinem  
the relations of-duties and of-occasions, the vicissitudes

laboris ac voluptatis. Nam quod ais mentes  
of-labour and of-pleasure. For that you-say the minds

hominum oportere allici nullâ re ad  
of-men ought to-be-induced by-no thing (else) in

mandandum magistratum, nisi dignitate;  
conferring magistracy, except by-dignity (and worth):

hoc tu ipse, in quo est summa dignitas,  
this you yourself, in whom there-is the greatest dignity (and worth),

non servas. Enim cur rogas quemquam, ut  
'do not 'observe. For why do-you-ask any-one, that

studeat tibi, ut adjuvet te? Tu  
he-should-take-care (of) your-interest, that he-should-help you? You

rogas me, ut præsis mihi, ut ego  
ask me, that you-may-be-placed-over me, that I

committam me tibi. Quid tandem? Oportet,  
may-commit myself to-you. What then? Is it-proper,

me rogari istuc abs te, an te  
(that) I be-asked this by-you, or (that) you (be asked it)

potius a me, ut suscipias laborem que  
rather by me, that you-should-undertake labour and

periculum pro meâ salute? Quid? quod habes  
perils for my safety? What? that you-have

nomenclatorem?

a nomenclator? [a slave, who accompanied his master, and whispered

In eo quidem fallis et  
the names of the citizens to him.] In this indeed you-mislead and

decipis. Nam si est honestum  
deceive. For if it-is an honourable (and praiseworthy thing),

tuos cives appellari nomine abs te,  
(that) your fellow-citizens should-be-addressed by-name by you,

est turpe eos esse notiores tuo servo,  
it-is shameful, (that) they should-be better-known to-your slave,

quàm tibi. Sin si etiam noris,  
than to-yourself. But if also you-might-have-known (them),

tamen appellandi sunt per  
yet (if through custom) 'they-are (only) 'to-be-addressed through

monitorem, cur petis

the suggestion of your) prompter, why do-you-ask (the name)

ante, quàm insusurravit? aut quid, cum  
before, than he-has-whispered-it-to-you? or why, when

admoneris, tamen salutas ita, quasi noris  
you-are-reminded, yet you-salute (them) so, as-if you-had-known

tute? quid posteaquam designatus es, salutas  
(them) well? why after you-are-elected, do-you-salute

multò negligentius? Si dirigas omnia hæc  
so-much more-negligently? If you-regulate all these (things)

ad rationem civitatis recta sunt, sin velis  
according to-the-usages of-the-state they-are-right, but-if you-wish

perpendere ad præcepta disciplinæ  
to-weigh (them) according-to the precepts 'of (your) discipline

reperiantur pravissima. Quare  
(and sect) they-may-be-found (to be) very-bad. Wherefore

nec isti fructus ludorum gladiatorum conviviorum  
neither these enjoyments of-games of-gladiators of-banquets

non eripiendi Romanæ plebi, omnia quæ  
'are not 'to-be-taken from-the-Roman people, all which

nostri majores comparaverunt;  
our ancestors prepared, (and instituted for their gratifi-

nec est ista benignitas adimenda candidatis,  
sation); nor is this kindly-feeling to-be-taken-from the candidates,

quæ significat liberalitatem magis quàm largitionem.  
which indicates liberality more than bribery.

37. At enim respublica adduxit te ad  
But indeed (the interest of) the republic led you to

accusandum. Credo, Cato, te venisse isto  
accuse. I-believe, O Cato, (that) you came with-this

animo et eâ opinione. Sed tu laberis  
mind and with-this opinion. But you fall

imprudentiâ. Quod ego facio,  
by-imprudence (you act imprudently, and err). That-which I do,

judices, facio cum gratiâ amicitiae atque dignitatis  
O judges, I-do for the sake of-the-friendship and of-the-worth

L. Murenæ, tum clamo atque testor me facere  
of-L. Murena, then I-proclaim and attest (that) I do-it

**causâ pacis, otii, concordiæ, libertatis,**  
 for-the-cause of-peace, of-tranquillity, of-concord, of-liberty,

**salutis, denique vitæ nostrum omnium. Audite,**  
 of-safety, in-fine of-the-lives of-us all. Hear,

**audite, judices, consulem, dicam nihil**  
 hear, O judges, (your) consul, I-will-say nothing

**arrogantius, dicam tantum cogitantem**  
 arrogantly, 'I-will (only) 'say so-much (that I) thinking

**de republica, totos dies atque noctes.**  
 about the republic, entire days and nights, (may be allowed to

**L. Catilina non desepxit**  
 say, with propriety and moderation). L. Catiline 'did not 'despise

**atque contempsit rempublicam usque eo, ut**  
 and contemn the republic so far, that

**arbitraretur se oppressurum hanc civitatem,**  
 he-thought (that) he could-reduce this city.

**câ copiâ, quam eduxit cum se. Contagion**  
 with-that force, which he-led-out with him. The contagion

**illius sceleris patet latius quam quisquam putat;**  
 of-that crime spreads more-widely than any-one supposes;

**pertinet ad plures. Intus, intus, inquam**  
 it-belonge to many. Within, within, I-say (that)

**Trojanus equus est; a quo, me consule,**  
 the Trojan horse is; by which, I being-consul, 'you-will

**nunquam dormientes opprimemini. Quæris**  
 never sleeping (be surprised and) 'be-oppressed. You-ask

**a me quid ego metuam Catilinam. Nihil;**  
 of me why I fear Catiline. (I fear) nothing (of him);

**et curavi ne quis metueret;**  
 and I-have-taken-care (that) no one might-fear (any thing);

**sed illius copias, quas video hic, dico esse**  
 but his forces, which I-see here, I-say are

**metuendas; nec est nunc exercitus L. Catilinæ,**  
 to-be-feared, nor is now the army of-L. Catiline,

**tam timendus, quam isti, qui dicuntur deseruisse**  
 so-much to-be-feared, as these-here, who are-said to-have-deserted

**illum exercitum. Enim non deseruerunt, sed**  
 that army For 'they-have not deserted, but



relicti ab illo in speculis atque insidiis, restiterunt  
being-left by him as out-posts and ambuscades, remained

in capite atque in nostris cervicibus. Hi  
against (our) heads and against our necks. These

volunt et integrum consulem, et bonum imperatorem,  
wish both an honest consul, and good commander,

et naturâ et fortunâ conjunctum cum  
(one, who is) both by-nature and by-fortune united with

salute reipublicæ, deturbari vestris sententiis,  
the safety of-the-republic, to-be-overthrown by-your decision,

dejici de præsidio urbis, et de  
(so as) to-be-removed from the protecting of-the-city, and from

custodiâ civitatis. Quorum ferrum et audaciam,  
the guardianship of-the-state. Whose weapons and audacity,

ego, judices, rejeci in campo, debili-  
I, O judges, have-repulsed in the Campus-Martius, I-have-intimi-

tavi in foro, sæpe etiam compressi  
dated (them) in the forum, (and) 'have often also 'repressed

meæ domi; si vos tradideritis  
(their attempts on me) in-my-own house; if you will-have-given-up

his alterum consulem consecuti erunt  
to-them the one-of-the-two consuls they-will-have-obtained

plus multò vestris sententiis, quàm suis gladiis.  
much more by-your votes, than by-their swords.

Magni interest, judices, esse duo  
It-is of-great 'consequence, O judges, (that) there-should-be two

consules in republica kalendis Januariis,  
consuls in the republic on-the-kalends of-January [first of January],

id quod ego perfeci, multis repugnantibus.  
that which I have-accomplished, many striving-against-it.

Nolite arbitrari mediocribus consiliis, aut usitatis  
Do-not think (that) by-moderate counsels, or the usual

viis, aut \* \* \* Non improba lex, non perniciosa  
says, or \* \* \* No bad law, no pernicious

largitio non aliquod malum aliquando auditum  
bribery, not any evil at-any-time heard-of

quæritur reipublicæ. Consilia inita sunt  
be-sought-for against-the-republic Plans have-been-entered-into

in hac civitate, judices, delendæ urbis.  
in this city, O judges, of-destroying the town,

trucidandorum civium, extinguendi Romani nominis.  
of-massacring the citizens, of-extinguishing the Roman name

Atque hæc, cives, cives inquam, (si est fas  
And these-things, citizens, citizens I-say, (if it-is rig

eos appellari hoc nomine), et cogitant et  
(that) they be-called by-this name), both think and

cogitaverunt de suâ patriâ; ego quotidie occurro  
have-thought against their country; I daily counteract

consiliis horum. Debilito audaciam,  
the plans of-these-men. I-weaken (their) audacity, (and)

resisto sceleris. Sed moneo vos, judices,  
resist (their) wickedness. But I-admonish you, O judges;

meus consulatus est jam in exitu: nolite  
my consulship is now (nearly) in (its) termination: do-not

subtrahere mihi vicarium meæ dili-  
take-from me one-who-is-to-supply-my-place (in) my dili-

gentiæ; nolite eum adimere,  
gence, (and care for the republic); do-not 'take him 'away,

cui cupio tradere rempublicam incolumem,  
to-whom I-desire to-give-over the republic safe,

defendendam ab his tantis periculis.  
to-be-defended from these so-great dangers.

88. Atque non videtis, judices, quid aliud  
And 'do-you not 'see, O judges, what other evil

accedat ad hæc mala? Te, te, Cato, appello;  
accedes to these evils? You, you, O Cato, I-address;

nonne prospicis tempestatem tui anni?  
do-you not foresee the storm of-your-own year

jam enim hesternâ concione pernicio-  
(of tribuneship)? now indeed in-yesterday's assembly the pernicious

vox tribuni designati, tui collegæ, intonuit; contra  
voice of-a-tribune elect, your colleague, sounded-forth; against

quem tua mens multùm, omnes  
whom your-own mind and foresight (provided) much, (also) 'did all

boni providerunt, qui vocaverunt te ad  
good-men 'provide-against who requested you to

petitionem                      tribunatûs.                      Omnia,                      quæ  
be-a-candidate              (for)      the tribuneship.              All,                      which

agitata sunt                      per hoc  
have-been-agitated      (and plotted against the Republic)      for these (last,

triennium, jam scitis esse ab eo tempore.  
three-years,              as      you-know to-have-been      from that              time.

quo consilium initum a L. Catilinâ et Cn.  
a-which              the plot      was-entered-into by      L. Catiline              and Cn.

Pisone interficiendi senatûs, erumpunt in hos dies,  
Piso              of massacring the senate,              break-out              in these days,

in hos menses, in hoc tempus. Qui locus est,  
in these months,              in this              time.              What place is-there,

judices, quod tempus, qui dies, quæ nox, cum ego  
O judges,              what              time,              what day,              what night,              that              I

non eripiar atque evolem ex insidiis ac  
'am not              'snatched-from              and              escape              from the snares and

mucronibus istorum, non solum meo consilio,  
swords              of-these-men,              not              only by-my-own              counsel

sed etiam multò magis divino?  
(and precaution),              but              indeed              much              more-so              by-divine (counsel

Neque isti volunt me interfici  
and providence)?              Nor              do these-men              'wish              me              to-be-killed

meo nomine,                      sed demovere  
on-my-own              name, [or my own individual account,]              but              to-remove

vigilantem consulem de præsidio reipublicæ;  
a vigilant              consul              from the guardianship              of-the-republic;

nec minus vellent, Cato, tollere te quoque,  
nor              'do-they the less              'wish,              O Cato,              to-remove you              also,

si possent, aliquâ ratione; id quòd, crede mihi,  
if they-could,              by-any              means;              that which,              believe              me

et agunt et moluntur. Vident,  
(they are) both attempting              and endeavouring-to-effect).              They-see

quantùm sit in te animi, quantùm ingenii,  
how-much              there-is              in you              of-courage,              how-much              of-talent,

quantùm auctoritatis, quantùm præsidii  
how-much              of-weight-of-character,              how-much              of-protection (for)

reipublicæ; sed cum viderint tribunitiam vim  
the republic;              but              when they-have-perceived the tribunitian              power

spoliatum consulari auctoritate, et auxilio, tum  
deprived of-the-consular authority, and assistance, then

arbitrantur, se facilius oppressuros  
they-think, (that) they 'will the-more-easily 'oppress (and over-

te inermem et debilitatum. Nam non  
some) you defenceless and weakened. For 'they-do not

timens, ne consul sufficiatur.  
'fear, lest (another) consul should-be-substituted (in place of

Vident te fore in  
Murena, should he be condemned). They-see (that) you will-be in

potestate tuorum collegarum; sperant Silanum,  
the power of-your colleagues; they-hope (that) Silanus.

clarum virum, sine collegâ, te sine consule,  
an illustrious man, without a colleague, you without a consul,

republicam sine præsidio, posse objici sibi.  
the republic without a protection, may-be exposed to-them

In his tantis rebus, que in  
(in their attacks on it). In these such-great affairs, and in

tantis periculis est tuum, M. Cato, qui natus es  
such-great dangers it-is your part, O M. Cato, who are-born

non mihi, non tibi, sed patriæ, videre quid  
not for-me, not for-yourself, but 'for your 'country, to-see what

agatur retinere adiutorem, defensorem, socium  
may-be-done to-retain an assistant, defender, (and) associate

in republica, consulem, consulem non cupidum,  
in the republic, (as) consul, a consul not ambitious,

(quod hoc tempus maxime  
(or desirous of change), (which this (present) time greatly

postulat) constitutum fortunâ ad amplexandum  
requires) formed 'by (his) 'fortune to embrace

otitum; scientiâ ad gerendum  
(and enjoy) ease and leisure; with-the-knowledge to carry-on

bellum; animo et usu ad quod negotium  
war; of-mind and experience for any business

velis.

you may-wish.

39. Quanquam, omnis potestas hujusce rei  
Although, all the power of-this affair

sita est in vobis, judices; vos in hac causâ  
is-placed in you, O judges; you in this cause

tenetis, vos gubernatis totam rempublicam. Si  
hold, you govern the whole republic. If

L. Catilina cum suo consilio nefariorum hominum,  
L. Catiline with his council of-infamous men.

quos eduxit cum se, posset judicare de naç  
whom he-took-out with him, could judge concerning this

re, condemnaret L. Murenâ; si posset  
affair, he-would-condemn L. Murena; if he-coul.

interficere occideret. Enim rationes illius  
'put (him) 'to death, he-would-kill (him). For the plans of-this-man

petunt, ut respublica orbetur auxilio;  
require, that the republic should-be-deprived 'of (its proper) 'assistance,

ut copia imperatorum contra suum  
that the number-and-power of-the commanders opposed (to) his

furorem minuat; ut major facultas detur  
fury may-be-diminished; that greater power may-be-given

tribunis plebis, adversario depulso,  
to-the-tribunes of-the-people, (his) opponent (Murena) being-rejected,

concitandæ seditionis ac discordiæ.  
for the purpose) of-exciting sedition and discord

Igitur honestissimi atque sapientissimi viri,  
Therefore the most-honourable and most-wise men,

delecti ex amplissimis ordinibus,  
selected from the highest orders, (of the state, for judges in

ne judicabunt idem, quod ille  
this case,) 'will not 'judge the same, as that

importunissimus gladiator, hostis reipublicæ,  
most-dangerous gladiator [Catiline], the enemy of-the-republic,

judicaret? Credite mihi, judices, in hac causâ,  
would-judge? Believe me, O judges, (that) in this case,

non solum feretis sententiam de  
'you not only 'pronounce judgment on (the safety)

L. Murenæ, etiam verum de vestrâ salute.  
of-L. Murena, (but) also indeed on your-own safety

Venimus in extremum discrimen; est nihil jam,  
We-have-come into extreme danger; there-is nothing now,



unde nos reficiamus, aut ubi lapsi  
 whence we may-repair (our strength), or where fallen  
 resistamus. Non solùm auxilia, quæ habemus  
 we-may-resist. Not only the resources, which we-have  
 non minuenda, sed etiam nova, si possit  
 'are not 'to-be-diminished, but also new-ones, if it-can  
 fieri comparanda. Enim hostis est non apud  
 e-done are-to-be-procured. For the enemy is not on  
 Anienem, quod, Punico bello visum est gravissi-  
 the Anio, which, in-the-Punic war appeared the most-grievous-  
 mum, sed in urbe, in foro (immortales dii!  
 thing, but in the city, in the forum (O immortal gods!  
 potest hoc dici sine gemitu;) etiam est  
 can this be-said without a sigh;) also there-is [are]  
 non-nemo hostis in illo sacrario reipublicæ,  
 some enemies in this sanctuary of-the-republic,  
 inquam non nemo in curiâ ipsâ. Dii  
 I-say (there are) some in the senate-house itself. 'May the gods  
 faxint, ut meus collega, fortissimus vir, armatus,  
 grant, that my colleague, a most-brave man, 'may, armed,  
 opprimat hoc nefarium latrocinium Catilinæ; egc  
 'suppress this nefarious armed-robbery of-Catiline; I  
 togatus, vobis que omnibus bonis adjutoribus,  
 a civilian, you and all good (men) being-assistants,  
 discutiam et comprimam consilio hoc periculum,  
 will-dispel and crush 'by (my) 'counsel this danger  
 quod conceptum, respublica parturit. Sed  
 which conceived (in it), the republic is-about-to-bring forth. But  
 quid tandem fiet, si hæc, elapsa de nostris  
 what 'will in-fine 'happen, if these-things, escaped from our  
 manibus, redundarint, in eum annum, qui  
 hands, should-make-their-appearance in that year, which  
 consequitur? Erit unus consul, et is non  
 follows (this)? There-will-be (only) one consul, and he not  
 occupatus in administrando bello, sed in  
 occupied in conducting warlike-affairs, but in  
 sufficiendo collega. Jam qui  
 procuring the-election-of-a-colleague, (in the consulship). Now those-who

impedituri sint hunc \* \* \* illa immanis pestis,  
will-hinder him \* \* \* that enormous pest,

importuna, prorumpet, quâ poterit; et jam  
dangerous, will-break-forth, where it-can; and already

minatur Romano populo; repente advolabit in  
is-is-threatening the Roman people; suddenly it-will-fly to

suburbanos agros; furor versabitur in castris, timor  
the suburban districts; fury will-prevail in the camp, fear

in curiâ, conjuratio in foro, exercitus in  
in the senate-house, conspiracy in the forum, an army in

Campo, vastitas in agris; autem in omni  
the Campus-Martius, devastation in the country; but in every

sede ac loco metuemus flammam que ferrum.  
habitation and place we-fear the fire and the sword.

Quæ jamdiu comparantur, omnia  
These things), which 'are for-a-long-time 'prepared, all

ista eadem, si respublica ornata erit suis  
these same, if the republic should-be-provided 'with her (proper)

præsidii, facile comprimuntur; et consiliis  
defences, 'will easily 'be-repressed; both by-the-counsels

magistratum, et diligentiam privatorum.  
of-the-magistrates, and by-the-diligence of-private-persons.

40. Quæ, judices, cum sint ita, primum,  
Which-things, O judges, as they-are so, in-the-first-place,

causâ reipublicæ, qua nulla res debet esse  
for-the-sake of-the-republic, (than) which no thing ought to-be

potior cuiquam, moneo vos pro meâ summâ  
dearer to-any-one, I-admonish you on-account-of my very-great

diligentiâ in rempublicam et  
diligence (and zeal) in (the affairs of) the republic and (well)

cognita vobis, pro consulari auctoritate  
known to-you on-account-of (my) consular authority

hortor, pro magnitudine periculi obtestor,  
I-exhort (you), on-account-of-the-greatness of-the-danger I-entreat

ut otio, ut paci, ut salutis, ut  
(you), that for-tranquillity, that for-peace, that 'for (your) 'safety, the

vestræ vitæ et, ceterorum civium, consulatis.  
for-your life and (that), of-the-rest of-the-citizens, you-would-consult

deinde ego, adductus officio defen-  
 (and take measures); next I, induced by-the-duty of-a-de-  
 soris et amici, oro atque obsecro, iudices.  
 fender, and of-a-friend, do-pray and entreat, O judges,  
 vestram fidem, ut ne obruatis recentem  
 your good-faith, that 'you-do not overwhelm the recent  
 gratulationem miseri hominis, L. Murenæ, et  
 felicitations of-a-distressed man, L. Murena, and  
 confecti cum morbo corporis, tum dolore animi,  
 afflicted with disease of-body, as-well-as with-distress of-mind,  
 novâ lamentatione. Modò ornatus maximo  
 by-a-new (cause of) lamentation. Just honoured with-the-greatest  
 beneficio Romani populi, videbatur fortunatus,  
 favour of-the-Roman people, he-seemed-to-be fortunate,  
 quòd primus attulisset consulatum in  
 because 'he first 'had-brought (the honour of) the consulship into  
 veterem familiam, primus in antiquissimum  
 an old family, (and) first into a most-ancient  
 municipium; nunc idem sordidus  
 municipality; now the same-person (of) squalid-appearance, (on  
 squalore, confectus morbo, perditus  
 account of his), neglected-dress, afflicted with-sickness, spent  
 lacrymis ac mœrore, est vester supplex, iudices,  
 with-tears and sorrow, is your suppliant, O judges,  
 obtestatur vestram fidem, implorat misericordiam,  
 he-invokes your good-faith, he-implores (your) compassion,  
 intuetur vestram potestatem, ac vestras opes.  
 he-earnestly-looks to-your power, and to-your might.  
 Nolite, per immortales deos, iudices, privare eum  
 Do-not, by the immortal gods, O judges, deprive him  
 hac re, qua putavit, se fore honesti-  
 of-that thing, by-which he-thought, (that) he would-become more-hon-  
 orem, etiam ceteris honestatibus ante  
 -ured, (but) also of-other honours, (which he had) before  
 partis, atque omni dignitate que fortunâ. Itaque  
 obtained, and of-all (his) dignity and fortune. Therefore  
 ita, iudices, L. Murena orat atque obsecrat vos,  
 so, O judges, 'does L. Murena 'pray and entreat you.

si injuste læsit neminem; si violavit  
(that) if 'he-has unjustly 'injured no-one; if he has-offended  
aures ve voluntatem nullius; si, ut levissime  
the ears or desires of-no-one; if, as 'I-may most-moderately  
dicam, fuit odio nemini, nec domi nec  
'say, he-was (a cause of) hatred to-no-one, neither at-home nor

militiæ, sit apud vos locus modestiæ  
'in-war, may-there-be with you an asylum (for) moderation

sit perfugium demissis hominibus,  
may-there-be (with you) a refuge for-dejected men,

sit auxilium pudori. Spoliatio  
may-there-be (with you) encouragement for-modersty. The depriving

consulatûs debet, judices, habere magnam miseri-  
of-the-consulship ought, O judges, to-excite great compas-

cordiam. Enim unâ cum consulatu omnia  
sion (in you). For together with the consulship all-things

eripiuntur. Vero, his temporibus, consulatus  
are-taken-away. Indeed, in-these times, the consulship

ipse potest habere nullam invidiam.

itself can have no envy. [The consulship is not

Enim objicitur concionibus sedi-  
to be envied.] For (the consul) is-exposed to-the-harangues of-the

tiosorum, insidiis conjuratorum, telis Ca-  
seditious, to-the-plots of-conspirators, (and) to-the-weapons of-Ca-

tilinæ; denique opponitur solus ad omne periculum,  
tiline; in-fine it-is-opposed alone to every danger,

atque ad omnem invidiam. Quare, judices,  
and to all (kinds of) unpopularity. Wherefore, O judges,

non video quid invidendum sit Murenæ, aut  
'I-do not 'see what may-be-envied (in) Murena, or

cuiquam nostrum, in hoc præclaro consulatu.  
ony-one of-us, in this distinguished (office of) consulship

Vero quæ sunt miseranda, ea  
But (those things) which are to-be-commiserated (in it), these

versantur ante mihi oculos, et vos potestis videre  
are-present before (my) eyes, and you may see

et perspicere.

and clearly-perceive (them).

41. Si (quod omen Jupiter avertat!)  
 If (which omen 'may Jupiter 'avert!)  
 affligeritis hunc vestris sententiis, quò  
 you-should-condemn this-man by-your sentence, whither 'will  
 miser vertet se? domumne? ut eam  
 the-miserable-man 'turn himself? home? that that  
 imaginem clarissimi viri, sui parentis, quam  
 image of-a-most-illustrious man, his parent, which  
 paucis diebus ante, conspexit laureatam, in  
 a few days before, he-had-beheld crowned-with-laurels, for  
 suâ gratulatione, videat eandem deformatam  
 his congratulation, he-may-see the same (now) disfigured  
 ignominia que lugentem? an ad matrem, quæ  
 with-ignominy and in-mourning? whether to (his) mother, who  
 misera modo osculata suum filium con-  
 wretched (woman) 'had just 'kissed her son (as) con-  
 sulem, nunc cruciatur et sollicita est, ne paullo  
 sul, now tormented and agitated, lest a little  
 post conspiciat eundem spoliatum omni dignitate?  
 after she-may-behold him deprived of-all (his) dignity  
 Sed quid ego appello matrem aut  
 (and honours)? But why 'do I 'mention mother or  
 domum, quem nova poena legis privat, et domo  
 home, whom the new penalty of-the-law deprives, both of-home  
 et parente, consuetudine que conspectu omnium  
 and parent, (and) of-the-intercourse and sight of-all  
 suorum. Igitur miser ibit  
 his (relations and acquaintances). Therefore the miserable-man will-go  
 in exilium? Quo? ne ad partes Orientis, in  
 into exile? Where? whether to the parts of-the-East, in  
 quibus fuit multos annos legatus, et duxit  
 which he-was for-many years a lieutenant, and led (and  
 exercitus, et gessit magnas res? At  
 commanded, armies, and performed great things? But  
 habet magnum dolorem reverti eodem cum  
 it-occasions great sorrow to-return to-the-same-place with  
 ignominia, unde decesseris cum nonore. An  
 ignominy, whence you-had-departed with honour. But



abdet se in contrariam partem terrarum, ut  
 should-he-hide himself in a different part of-the-earth, as  
 Transalpina Gallia, quem nuper libentissime viderit  
 Transalpine Gaul, whom lately 'it most-willingly 'saw  
 cum summo imperio, videat eundem  
 (invested) with supreme power, (now) may-see the same person  
 lugentem, moerentem exulem? In eâ provinciâ  
 moaning, grieving (and) an exile? In that province  
 porro, quo animo, adspiciet suum fratrem,  
 moreover, with-what state-of-mind, would-he-behold his brother,  
 C. Murenam? qui erit dolor hujus? qui  
 C. Murena? what will-be the grief of-this-one? [Murena] what  
 moeror illius? quæ lamentatio utriusque?  
 the sadness of-that-one? [his brother] what the lamentation of-both?  
 autem quanta perturbatio fortunæ, atque sermonis,  
 but what an alteration of-fortune, and of-speech,  
 quòd, in locis quibus paucis diebus ante, nuntii  
 that, in the places in-which a few days before, messengers,  
 que literæ celebrassent, Murenam esse factum  
 and letters had-joyfully-announced, (that) Murena was-made  
 consulem, et unde hospites atque amici concur-  
 consul, and whence (his) guests and friends had-  
 rerint Romam gratulatum, repente eo accedat  
 flocked to-Rome to-congratulate (him), suddenly there arrives  
 ipse nuntius suæ calamitatis? Quæ  
 the same messenger (with the news) of-his calamity? Which-things  
 si sunt acerba, si misera, si  
 if they-are harsh, if (they are) miserable, if (they are)  
 luctuosa, si alienissima a vestrâ mansuetudine  
 lamentable, if (they are) most-foreign to your clemency  
 et misericordiâ, iudices, conservate beneficium  
 and mercy, O judges, preserve (for him) the favour  
 Romani populi; reddite  
 of-the-Roman people, (that they have conferred on him); restore  
 consulem reipublicæ; date hoc pudori  
 the consul to-the-republic; grant this to-the-modesty  
 ipsius, date mortuo patri, date  
 of-the-man-himself, grant (it) 'to (his) 'dead father, grant (it) 'to (his)

generi et familiæ, date etiam Lanuvio honestissimo  
 kindred and family, grant (it) also to-Lanuvium a most-honourable  
 municipio, quod vidistis frequens que  
 municipality, (the inhabitants of) which you-have-seen thronging and  
 moestum in totâ hac causâ. Nolite avellere a  
 sad in all this cause. Do-not tear from  
 patriis sacris Junonis Sospitæ, cui est necesse  
 the paternal sacrifices of-Juno Sospita, to-whom it-is necessary  
 omnes consules facere, domesticum et suum  
 (for) all consuls to-sacrifice, her-domestic and her  
 potissimum consulem. Quem ego, si commendatio  
 most-especial consul. Whom I, if (my) recommendation  
 habet quid momenti, aut mea confirmatio  
 have any weight, or my strong-assurance (any)  
 auctoritatis, consul, judices, ita commendo consulem,  
 authority, (I) consul, O judges, so recommend the consul  
 ut promittam et spondeam, futurum esse  
 (elect), that I-promise and will-answer-for-him, (that) he-will-be  
 cupidissimum otii, studiocissimum  
 most-desirous of-tranquillity (in public affairs), most-anxious  
 bonorum, acerrimum contra seditionem,  
 (for the welfare) of-good-men, most-active against sedition,  
 fortissimum in bello, inimicissimum huic conjurationi,  
 most-brave in war, most-inimical to-this conspiracy  
 quæ nunc labefactat rempublicam.  
 (of Catiline), which now shakes the republic.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*  
 PRO  
 FOR  
 Q. LIGARIO.  
*Q. LIGARIUS.*

---

1. **MEUS** propinquus, **Q. Tubero**, detulit ad te,  
 My relation, Q. Tubero, has-brought before you,  
**C. Cæsar**, novum, et ante hunc diem, inauditum  
 O C. Cæsar, a new, and before this day, unheard-of  
 crimen, **Q. Ligarium** fuisse in Africâ; que **C.**  
 crime, (that) Q. Ligarius was in Africa; and C.  
**Pansa**, vir præstanti ingenio, fretus fortasse  
 Pansa, a man (of) excellent talent, trusting perhaps (to)  
 eâ familiaritate, quæ est ei cum te,  
 that familiarity, which is to-him with you, [familiarity, that  
 exists between you,] ausus est confiteri. Itaque nescio  
 quod vertam me. Enim veneram paratus,  
 where I-may-turn myself. For I-had-come prepared,  
 quum tu neque scires id per te, neque potuisses  
 as you neither knew it of yourself, nor could-have  
 audire aliunde, ut abuterer tuâ ignorance  
 heard (it) any-where, that I-might-abuse your ignorance  
 ad salutem miseri hominis. Sed quoniam quod  
 for the safety of-a-miserable man. But because that-which

latebat, diligentia inimici investigatum est,  
was-concealed, by-the-diligence 'of (his) 'enemy has-been-discovered,

confitendum est, ut opinor; praesertim quum meus  
it-must-be-confessed, as I-suppose; especially when my

necessarius Pansa fecerit, ut id esset non jam  
friend Pansa has-acted (so), that it would not now

integrum; que controversia omissa, omnis  
be-in-my-power (to deny it); and controversy being-omitted, all

oratio conferenda est ad tuam misericordiam  
(my) speech must-be-addressed to your mercy

qua plurimi conservati sunt, quum impetravissent  
by-which many have-been-preserved, when they-had-besought

a te non liberationem culpae, sed veniam  
from you not a release (from) crime, but pardon (for)

errati. Igitur, Tubero, habes, quod est maxime  
error. Therefore, O Tubero, you-have, what is greatly

optandum accusatori, confitentem reum; sed  
to-be-wished-for (by) an accuser, a confessing defendant; but

tamen confitentem hoc, se fuisse in ea parte,  
however confessing this, (that) he was in that part,

qua te, qua tuum patrem, virum  
[Africa,] in-which you, (were), in-which your father, a man

dignum omni laude. Itaque est prius necesse  
worthy (of) all praise (was). Therefore it-is first necessary

confitemini de vestro delicto, quam  
(that) you-confess your-own fault, than (that)

reprehendatis ullam culpam Ligarii.  
you-may-reprehend any fault of-Ligarius.

Enim Q. Ligarius, quum esset nulla suspicio  
For Q. Ligarius, when there-was no suspicion

belli, profectus est in Africam, cum C. Considio,  
of-war, went to Africa, with C. Considius,

legatus; in qua legatione, probavit se ita,  
as-lieutenant; in which lieutenantancy, he-proved himself so,

et civibus et sociis, ut Considius,  
(acceptable), both to-the-citizens and to-the-allies, that Considius,

decedens provinciâ, posset non satisfacere  
(en) departing from-the-province, could not have-satisfied

hominibus, si præfecisset alium quemquam  
the people, if he-had-placed any other-whatever (over)

provinciae Itaque Ligarius quum diu recusans  
the province. Therefore Ligarius when (by) long refusing

profecisset nihil, invitus accepit provinciam;  
he-had-accomplished nothing, against-his-will he-accepted the province;

cui præfuit sic in pace, ut ejus integritas ac  
over-which he-presided so in peace, that his integrity and

fides esset gratissima, et civibus et sociis  
good-faith were most-acceptable, both 'to (our)' citizens and allies

Subito bellum exarsit; quod  
On-a-sudden the war, (between Pompey and Cæsar) broke-out; which

qui erant in Africâ audierunt  
(war) those-who were in Africa heard-of (its actually)

geri, ante quàm parari.  
being-waged, before (they heard) that preparations-were-made (for it).

Quo audito, partim inconsideratâ cupiditate,  
Which being-heard, partly by-inconsiderate zeal,

partim quodam cæco timore, quærebant  
partly (on account of) some blind fear, they-sought-for

aliquem ducem, primò salutis, post  
some-one (as) leader, at-first, (indeed, for the sake) of-safety, afterwards

etiam sui studii; quum Ligarius spectans  
also (led by) their-party zeal; when Ligarius looking

domum, cupiens redire ad suos,  
(towards) home, (and) desiring to-return to his (relations and

passus est se implicari nullo negotio.  
friends), suffered himself to-be-implicated in-no (such) business.

Interim P. Atius Varus, qui prætor obtinuerat  
In-the-mean-time P. Atius Varus, who (as) prætor had-obtained

Africam, venit Uticam; statim concur  
Africa, (as his province,) came to-Utica; immediately there-was

sum est ad eum. Atque ille arripuit imperium,  
a-flocking to him. And he seized on-the-command,

non mediocri cupiditate, si illud potuit esse  
'with no moderate 'cupidity, if that could be

imperium, quod deferebatur ad privatum, clamore  
command, which was-conferred on a private-person, by the-clamour



imperitæ multitudinis, nullo publico  
of-an-ignorant mob, (and having the sanction of) no public  
consilio. Itaque Ligarius, qui cuperet effugere  
council. Therefore Ligarius, who desired to-avoid  
omne tale negotium, conquievit paulum adventu  
all such affairs, rested for-a-while by-the-arrival

Vari.

of-Vari.

2. Adhuc, C. Cæsar, Q. Ligarius vacat omni  
To-this-point, C. Cæsar, Q. Ligarius is-free from-all

culpâ. Egressus est domo non modò  
blame. He-left home not only, (for the purpose of

ad nullum bellum, sed ne quidem ad minimam  
joining) in no war, but not indeed with the least

suspicionem belli; profectus legatus  
suspicion (of embarking in any) war; he-went (as) a lieutenant

in pace, ita gessit se in pacatissimâ  
in (time of) peace, 'he so 'conducted himself in a most-peaceable

provinciâ, ut expediret ei pacem  
province, that it-advantaged him (that) peace (should continue)

esse. Profectio certe debet non  
to-be. (His) departure (from Rome) certainly ought not

offendere tuum animum; num igitur remansio?  
to-offend your mind; then-why therefore (his) remaining

Multò minus; nam profectio habuit  
(in Africa)? Much less; for (his) going-thither had

non turpem voluntatem, etiam remansio  
no discreditable intent, (so) also (his) remaining (there was)

honestam necessitatem. Ergo hæc duo tempora  
an honest necessity. Therefore these two periods

carent crimine: unum, quum profectus est legatus;  
are-free from-reproach: the one, when he-went (as) lieutenant

alterum quum efflagitatus a provinciâ præpositus est  
the other when being-importuned by the province he-was-placed-over

Africæ. Tertium tempus, est quo post  
Africa. The third period, is (that) in-which after

adventum Vari restitit in Africâ: quod si est  
the arrival of-Varus he-remained in Africa: which if it-is

criminosum est crimen necessitatis, non voluntatis.  
 criminal is a crime of-necessity, not of-will.

An ille, si potuisset ullo modo evadere, maluisset  
 Whether he, if he-could in-any manner have-escaped, would-rather

esse Uticæ, quàm Romæ, cum P. Atio, quàm  
 be at-Utica, than at-Rome, with P. Atius (rather), than

cum concordissimis fratribus, cum  
 with (his) most-united (and beloved) brothers, with

alienis, quàm cum suis? Quum  
 strangers (rather), than with his-friends-and-relations? When (his)

legatio ipsa fuisset plena desiderii ac  
 government (in Africa) itself was full of-regret and

sollicitudine, propter quendam incredibilem amorem  
 solicitude, on-account-of some incredible affection

fratrum, potuit hic esse æquo animo,  
 (for his) brothers, could he be in-an-easy-state (of) mind,

distractus a fratribus, discidio belli? Igitur,  
 separated from (his) brothers, by-the-discords of-war? Therefore,

Cæsar, habes adhuc nullum signum, in Q. Ligario,  
 O Cæsar, you-have as-yet no sign, in Q. Ligarius.

alienæ voluntatis a te. Animadvertite,  
 of-an-unfriendly disposition towards you. Observe,

ego quæso quâ fide defendam causam  
 I entreat (you) with-what confidence (in you) I-defend the cause

cujus; prodo meam, O admirabilem clementiam,  
 of-this-man; (and) declare my-own, O admirable clemency,

atque decorandum laude omnium, prædicatione,  
 and (worthy) to-be-celebrated by-the-praise of-all, by-proclamation,

litteris que monumentis! M. Cicero defendit  
 by-written-records and monuments! M. Cicero defends

aliud apud te, fuisse non in ea  
 (and pleads for) another before you, (who) was not in that

voluntate, in qua confitetur  
 disposition (of mind against you), in which he-confesses (that)

se ipsum fuisse, nec extimescit tuas tacitas  
 he himself was, nor does-he-dread your silen<sup>t</sup>

cogitationes, nec reformidat quid occurrat  
 thoughts, nor does-he-fear what may-occur

tibi, de se ipso, audienti de  
to-you. concerning himself, (while) hearing, (what he is pleading) for  
alio  
another.

### 3. Vide, quàm non reformidem!

See, that 'I-am not 'afraid (to express my  
opinion before you)! see how the light of-your liberality  
vide quanta lux tuæ liberalitatis,  
et sapientiæ oboriatur mihi dicenti apud te!  
and wisdom rises on-me speaking before you!  
contendam voce quantùm potero, ut Romanus  
I-will-raise (my) voice as-much-as I-shall-be-able, that the Roman  
populus exaudiat hoc. Bello suscepto,  
people may-hear it. The war being-undertaken,  
Cæsar, etiam ex magnâ parte gesto,  
) Cæsar, also for a great part (already) carried-on,  
coactus nullâ vi, judicio ac voluntate  
constrained by-no force, 'from (my own) 'judgment and free-will  
profectus sum ad ea arma, quæ sumpta erant  
I-went to those arms, which were-taken-up  
contra te. Apud quem  
against you. [I joined the armies opposed to you.] Before whom  
igitur dico hoc? Nempe apud eum, qui quum  
then do-I-say this? Indeed before him, who when  
sciret hoc, tamen antequam vidit me,  
(though) he-knew this, yet before he-saw me  
reddidit reipublicæ: qui misit literas ad me  
restored (me) to-the-republic: who sent letters to me  
ex Ægypto, ut essem idem, qui fuisset; qui,  
from Ægypt, that I-might-be the same, which I-had-been; who,  
quum ipse esset unus imperator, in toto  
when he-himself was the one (sole) commander, in the entire  
imperio Romani populi, passus est me esse alterum;  
empire of-the-Roman people, suffered me to-be the other;  
a quo, hoc ipso C. Pansa perferente  
from whom [Cæsar], this same C. Pansa (came) bringing  
mihi hunc nuntium tenui concessos  
me this message (that) I-might-retain the conceded (faces of a

laureatos, quoad putavi  
successful commander) wreathed-with-laurel, as long-as I-thought

tenendos; qui tum denique putavit  
(proper), (that) they-might-be-kept; who then at-last thought

se reddere mihi salutem, si dedisset  
(that) 'he (did not properly) 'grant me safety, unless he-gave

eam spoliata nullis ornamentis. Vide quæso,  
it despoiled of-no honours-and-dignities. See, I-pray

Tubero, ut, qui non dubitem dicere de  
(you), O Tubero, that (I), who 'do not 'hesitate to-speak concerning

meo facto, audeam de Ligarii. Atque  
my-own actions, may-dare (to speak) of (those) of-Ligarius. And

dixi hæc propterea de me, ut  
I-have-said these-things on-that-account concerning myself, that

Tubero ignosceret mihi quum dicerem eadem  
Tubero may-pardon me when I-say the same-things

de se; cujus industriæ que gloriæ ego  
concerning himself; whose industry and renown I

faveo, vel propter propinquam cognationem,  
applaud, either on-account-of (our) near relationship,

vel quòd delector ejus ingenio que studiis,  
or because I-am-pleased 'with his 'talents and zeal,

vel quòd existimo laudem adolescentis pro-  
er because I-think (that) the-praise of-a-young-man (my) re-

pinqui, etiam redundare ad aliquem fructum  
lation, also redounds to some advantage (of,

meum. Sed quæro hoc: quis putat esse crimen,  
my-own. But I-ask this: who thinks (it) to-be a crime,

fuisse in Africâ? Is nempe, qui et ipse  
to-have-been in Africa? (Why) he indeed, who both himself

voluit esse in eâdem Africâ, et queritur, se  
wished to-be in the same Africa, and complains, (that) he

prohibitum a Ligario; et certe congressus est  
was-prohibited by Ligarius; and (who) certainly assembled

armatus contra Cæsarem ipsum. Quid  
(with others) armed against Cæsar himself. What

enim, Tubero, ille tuus destriatus gladius agebat  
indeo. O Tubero, 'did that your drawn sword 'do

in acie Pharsalia? cujus latus ille mucro  
in the battle (of) Pharsalia? whose side 'was that sword

petebat? qui erat sensus tuorum  
(of yours) 'aimed-at? what was the meaning (and intent) of your

armorum? quæ tua mens, oculi, manus ardor  
arms? what your mind, eyes, hands, (and) ardour

animi? quid cupiebas? quid optabas? Urgeo  
of-soul? what did-you-desire? what did-you-wish? (But) I-am-urging

nimis; adolescens videtur commoveri: revertar  
too-strongly; the young-man seems to-be-moved: I-will-return

ad me; fui in armis in iisdem.  
to myself; I-was (also) in arms in the same (cause).

4. Autem quid aliud, Tubero, egimus, nisi,  
But what else, Tubero, are-we-in-want-of, unless,

ut quod hic potest, LAS posse  
that which he [Cæsar] can-do, (in acts of clemency,) we might-be-

mus? Quorum impunitas igitur, Cæsar, est  
able-to-do? Whose impunity therefore, O Cæsar, is

laus tuæ clementiæ, oratio eorum ipsorum,  
the praise of-your clemency, 'shall the speech of-these same-men,

acuet te ad crudelitatem? Atque in  
(the accusers,) 'stir you 'up to cruelty? And in

hac causâ, Tubero, equidem desidero nonnihil,  
this cause, O Tubero, 'I indeed 'miss in-some-degree,

etiam tuam prudentiam, sed multò magis tui  
not-only your prudence, but much more (that) of-your

patris; quòd homo quum excellens  
father; because (this) man (your father) when excelling

ingenio, tum etiam doctrinâ, non  
'by (his) 'talents, as also 'by (his) 'learning, 'did not

viderit, quod genus causæ hoc esset; nam si  
see, what kind of-cause this might-be; for if

vidisset, maluisset agi a te  
he-had-perceived (it), he-would-rather (that it) were-conducted by you

quovis modo profectò, quàm isto.  
in-any (other) manner indeed, than in-this (of yours).

Arguis fatentem; est  
You-accuse (one) confessing (what you allege against him); (this) is



non satis; accusas eum, qui habet causam, aut ut  
 not enough; you-accuse him, who has a cause, either as  
 ego dico, meliorem quàm tu; aut ut tu  
 I say, better than you (have); or as you

vis parem. Hæc admirabilia: sed quod  
 will-have-it equal. These-things (are) strange: but what

dicam est simile prodigii. Ista accusatio habet  
 I-am-about-to-say is like a prodigy. This accusation has

non eam vim, ut Q. Ligarius condemnetur,  
 not that force (and object), that Q. Ligarius should-be-condemned,

sed ut necetur. Nemo, Romanus civis,  
 but that he-should-be-killed. No-one, a Roman citizen, (ever,

egit hoc ante te. Isti externi mores  
 did this before you. These foreign manners (are accustomed)

incitari odio usque ad sanguinem,  
 to-be-excited by-hatred even to (spilling) blood, (and are the

aut levium Græcorum aut immanium  
 manners) either of-fickle Greeks or of-ferocious

barbarorum. Nam quid aliud agis?  
 barbarians. For what else are-you-doing? (that) 'he-may

ne sit Romæ? ut careat domo?  
 not 'be in-Rome? that he-may-be-deprived of-home? (that) 'he-may

ne vivat cum optimis fratribus, ne cum hoc  
 not 'live with (his) most-excellent brothers, nor with this

T. Broccho avunculo, ne cum ejus filio, suo  
 T. Brocchus (his) uncle, nor with his son, his

consobrino, ne cum nobis? ne sit in  
 cousin, nor with us? (that) 'he-may not 'be in (his)

patriâ? Est num? potest num carere omnibus  
 country? Is-it then-so? can-he then want all

his magis, quàm caret?  
 these-things more, than 'he-does (actually now) 'want (them)?

prohibetur Italiâ, exsulat. Ergo tu vis non  
 he-is-prohibited from-Italy, he-is-an-exile. Therefore you wish not

privare hunc patriâ, quâ caret,  
 to-deprive him 'of (his) 'country, which 'he-is (already) 'deprived-of,

sed vitâ. At ne quisquam egit isto modo  
 but (of his, life. But not any-one acted in-this manner (in)

istud apud eum dictatorem  
 this (accusation of yours) (even) before that dictator [Sylla  
 quidem, qui multabat morte omnes, quos oderat  
 indeed, who punished with-death all, whom he-hated  
 Ipse jubebat occidi, nullo postulante;  
 He-himself ordered (them) to-be-killed, no-one soliciting (it); 'he  
 etiam invitabat præmiis;  
 even 'invited by-rewards, (the commission of these murders)  
 quæ crudelitas tamen, vindicata est, aliquot annis  
 which cruelty however, was-avenged, some years  
 post ab hoc eodem, quem tu vis nunc  
 after by this same (person), [Cæsar] whom you desire now  
 esse crudelem.  
 to-be cruel.

5. Ego vero, inquires non postulo istud.  
 I indeed, you-say 'do not 'ask this, (the death  
 Mehercule, Tubero, existimo ita. Enim  
 of Ligarius). By-Hercules, O Tubero, I-think so. For  
 novi te, novi vestrum patrem, novi domum  
 I-know you, I-know your father, I-know (your) family  
 que nomen; studia virtutis, humanitatis  
 and name; the love of-virtue, of-humanity (and politeness)  
 doctrinæ plurimarum atque optimarum  
 of the-learning (and science) of-many and most-excellent  
 artium, vestræ familiæ ac generis,  
 arts (and sciences), (for which) your race and family  
 sunt nota mihi. Itaque certò scio,  
 (are distinguished), are known to-me. Therefore 'I certainly 'know,  
 vos non petere sanguinem. Sed  
 (that) you 'do not 'seek for-blood. But 'you (the accusers)  
 attenditis parum. Enim res  
 'attend little (to the consequences of this). For the affair  
 spectat eo, ut non videamini  
 (of the prosecution) tends to-that, that 'you-do not 'seem  
 esse contenti, eâ poenâ, in quâ Q. Ligarius  
 to-be satisfied, with-that punishment, in which Q. Ligarius  
 sit. Quæ alia igitur præter  
 may-be [may have received]. What other (punishment) therefore except

**mortem est?** Enim si est in exilio, sicut  
 death is-there? For if he-is in exile, as 'he (actually)  
**est, quid amplius postulatis?** an ne  
 is, what more do-you-ask-for? whether (that) 'he-may not  
**ignoscatur?** Hoc vero multò acerbius, que  
 'be pardoned? This (would be) indeed much more-harsh, and  
**multò durius.** Pugnabis ne impetremus id,  
 much harder. Will-you-strive-against, lest we-should-obtain that  
**quod nos domi petimus precibus**  
 which we 'at (his) 'house [Cæsar's] asked-for with-entreaties, (and)  
**lacrymis, strati ad pedes, non fidentes**  
 tears, having-thrown-ourselves at (his) feet, not confiding  
**tam nostræ causæ, quàm hujus humanitati?**  
 so-much to-our-own cause, as 'to his 'humanity?  
**et irrumpes in nostrum fletum?** et prohibebis  
 and do-you-break-in upon our tears? and will-you prohibit  
**nos jacentes ad pedes, voce supplicum?**  
 us lying at (his) feet, (to speak) with-the-voice of-suppliants'  
**Si quum faceremus hoc domi, quod**  
 If when we-were-doing this at-the-house (of Cæsar), which 'we  
**et fecimus et, ut spero, fecimus non frustra,**  
 both 'did-do and, as I-hope, we-did (it) not in-vain,  
**tu repente irrupisses, et cœpisses clamare:**  
 'you-had suddenly 'broke-in (upon us), and had-commenced to-cry-out  
**"C. Cæsar, cave ignoscas, cave te**  
 "O C. Cæsar, take-care that-you-forgive, take-care (how) you  
**misereat fratrum obsecrantium pro salute**  
 take-compassion on-brothers supplicating for the safety  
**fratris;" nonne exuisses omnem**  
 of-a-brother;" 'would-you not 'have-divested (yourself of) all  
**humanitatem?** Quantò durius hoc,  
 humanity? How-much-more (disagreeable and) hard (than) this  
**quod nos petimus domi, id**  
 (is it, that) what we petitioned-for 'at (his) 'house, (that) the same  
**oppugnari a te in foro?** te tollere  
 should-be-opposed by you in the forum? (that) you should-take-away  
**refugium misericordiæ multorum in tali miseriâ?**  
 'he refuge of-mercy of-many in such misery'

Plane dicam, Cæsar, quod sentio. Si in hæc  
 'I-will openly 'say, O Cæsar, what I-think. If in this  
 tuâ tantâ fortunâ, lenitas non esset tanta,  
 your so-great fortune, (your) lenity 'had not 'been so-great,  
 quantam tu per te, per te, inquam, obtines  
 as you of yourself, of yourself, I-say, possess  
 (intelligo, quid loquar), ista victoria redundaret  
 (I-understand, what I-say), this victory would-abound

acerbissimo luctu. Enim quàm  
 with-the-most-distressing mourning (and grief). For as

essent multi de victoribus, qui vellent te  
 there-may-have-been many of the victors, who wished you

esse crudelem, quum etiam reperiantur  
 to-be cruel, so also 'may-there (not) 'be-some-found

de victis? quàm multi, qui,  
 among the conquered, (who wish the same thing)? as many, who,

quum vellent ignosci nemini a  
 when they-desire (that) pardon-should-be-granted to-no-one by

te, impedirent tuam clementiam, quum etiam ii,  
 you, would-impede your clemency, so also these,

quibus ipse ignovisti, nolint te esse  
 whom you-yourself had-pardoned, do-not-wish you to-be

misericordem in alios? Quòd si possemus probare  
 merciful to others? For if we-could prove

Cæsari, Ligarium fuisse non omnino in Africâ;  
 to-Cæsar, (that) Ligarius was not at-all in Africa;

si vellemus esse saluti  
 should-we-have-desired to-be (the means of procuring) the safety (of an)

calamitoso civi, honesto et misericordi mendacio,  
 unfortunate citizen, by-a-well-meant and commiserating falsehood,

tamen non hominis, in tanto discrimine  
 yet 'it-would not 'be (the part) of-a-man, in such-great hazard

et periculo civis, refellere et redarguere nostrum  
 and danger of-a-citizen, to-refute and reprehend our

mendacium; et si esset alicujus, certe  
 falsehood; and if there-might-be any-one, 'it-would certainly

non esset ejus, qui fuisset in eadem  
 not have-been (the part) of-him (to do so), who had-been in the same

causâ et fortunâ. Sed tamen aliud nolle.  
state and condition. But however it-is-one-thing not-to-wish,

Cæsarem errare, aliud nolle mise-  
(that) Cæsar should-err, another not-to-wish (that) he-should-be-mer-

rerî. Tunc diceres "Cæsar, cave  
eifful. Then (in the first case) you-would-say "O Cæsar, beware

credas; fuit in Africâ; tulit arma  
(how) you-believe (this); he-was in Africa; he-bore arms

contra te." Nunc quid dicis? Cave  
against you." Now what do-you-say? Beware (how)

ignoscas." Hæc vox est nec hominis,  
you-pardon." This language is neither (the part) of-a-man

nec ad hominem; qui utitur  
(to utter), nor (to be addressed) to a man; (and) he-who makes-use

quâ apud te, C. Cæsar, citius abjiciet suam  
of-it before you, O C. Cæsar, 'will sooner 'throw-off his-own

humanitatem, quàm extorquebit tuam.  
humanity, than (that) he-will-extort yours (from you).

6. Ac primus aditus, et postulatio  
And the first opening (of the case), and declaration

Tuberonis fuit hæc, ut opinor, se velle dicere  
of-Tubero was this, as I-suppose, (that) he wished to-speak

de scelere Q. Ligari. Non dubito, quin  
of the crime of-Q. Ligarius. 'I-do not 'doubt, but-that

admiratus sis, vel quòd quisquam afferret  
you-were-surprised, either that any-one had-brought-forward

de nullo alio, vel quod is, qui fuisset in  
(this) against no other-person, or that he, who had-been in

eadem causâ, vel  
the same cause (and condition himself, should bring it forward), or

quidnam novi sceleris. Tu  
(that he should bring forward) something of-a-new crime. Do you

vocas illud scelus, Tubero? cur? Enim illa causa  
call that a crime, O Tubero? why-so? For that cause

adhuc caruit isto nomine. Alii  
[of Pompey] as-yet had-been-free-from this name. Some

appellant errorem; alii timorem; qui  
call (it) an error; others (call it) fear; those-who (judga



**durius,** **spem, cupiditatem, odium, pertinaciam,**  
 more-harshly (call it), hope, cupidity, hatred, pertinacity;  
**qui** **gravissime temeritatem; adhuc, præter**  
 those-who (judge) most-severely (call it) temerity; as-yet, except  
**te, nemo** **scelus. Ac quidem** **mihi,**  
 you, no-one (has called it) a crime. And indeed (it appears) to-me  
**a proprium et verum nomen nostri mali quæritur**  
 f a proper and true name of-our misfortune is-required  
**videtur** **quædam fatalis calamitas incidisse, e**  
 it-seems (as if) some fatal calamity had-fallen-upon, and  
**occupavisse improvidas mentes hominum: ut nemo**  
 occupied the improvident minds of-men: so-that no-one  
**debeat mirari, humana consilia superata esse**  
 ought to-wonder, (that) human counsels were-overcome  
**divinâ necessitate. Liceat** **esse miseros;**  
 by-divine necessity. May-it-be-allowed (us) to-be miserable;  
**quamquam, hoc** **victore, possumus**  
 although, this-man [Cæsar] (being) conqueror, we-can  
**non esse; sed non loquor de nobis; loquor**  
 not be (so); but 'I-do not speak of ourselves; I-speak  
**de illis, qui occiderunt. Fuerint**  
 concerning those, who fell (in battle). They-may-have-been  
**cupidi, fuerint irati,**  
 ambitious, they-may-have-been under-the-influence-of-passion-and-anger,  
**fuerint pertinaces; vero liceat Cn. Pompeio**  
 they-may-have-been obstinate; but let Cn. Pompey  
**mortuo, liceat multis aliis carere crimine**  
 (who is) dead, let many others be-free-from the crime  
**sceleris, furoris, parricidii. Quando quisquam**  
 of-wickedness, of-rage, (and) of-parricide. When 'has any-one  
**audivit hoc ex te, Cæsar, aut quid aliud tua**  
 heard this from you, O Cæsar, or what else 'did your  
**arma** **voluerunt, nisi propulsare**  
 arms. (and military exploits,) 'intend, unless to-repel  
**contumeliam a te? quid ille tuus invictus**  
 insult-and-injury from yourself? what 'did that your invincible  
**exercitus egit, nisi tueretur suum jus, et**  
 army 'intend, unless-that it-might-defend its rights, and

tuam dignitatem? Quid? tu, quum cupiebas  
 your dignity? What? you, when you-were-desirous (that)  
 esse pacem, ne agebas id, ut  
 there-should be peace, whether you-acted so, that  
 conveniret tibi cum sceleratis, an ut  
 you-might-come-to-terms-of-agreement with the wicked, or that  
 cum bonis civibus? Vero, Cæsar, tua  
 (it might be) with good citizens? Indeed, O Cæsar, your  
 maxima merita in me non certe viderentur  
 very-great favours to me 'would not certainly 'have-appeared  
 mihi tanta, si putarem me conservatum a  
 to-me so-great, if I-had-thought, (that) I was-preserved by  
 te ut sceleratum. Autem quomodo tu  
 you as a wicked-person. But how 'would you  
 meritis esses bene de republica, quum voluisses,  
 'have-merited well of the republic, if you-had-desired,  
 tot sceleratos esse dignitate  
 (that) so-many wicked (men) be (continued) in (their) dignity  
 incolumi? Tu, Cæsar,  
 (and honours, without having them) impaired? You, O Cæsar,  
 initio, existimavisti illam secessionem,  
 in-the-beginning, thought that (affair) a secession,  
 non bellum; neque hostile odium, sed civile  
 not a war; nor a hostile hatred, but civil  
 dissidium; utrisque cupientibus rempublicam  
 dissension; men-on-both-sides desiring the republic  
 salvam, sed partim consiliis, partim  
 (to be) safe, but partly 'with (good) 'intentions, partly  
 studiis, aberrantibus a communi utilitate.  
 'through (party) 'zeal, wandering from the general welfare.  
 Dignitas principum erat pæne par;  
 The dignity of-the-leaders [Pompey and Cæsar] was nearly equal;  
 fortasse eorum qui sequebantur non par:  
 perhaps (the dignity) of-those who followed (was) not equal:  
 causa tum dubia, quòd erat aliquid in  
 the cause (was) then doubtful, because there-was something in  
 utrâque parte, quod posset probari; nunc ea  
 each party, that might be-approved-of; now that

judicanda est melior, quam etiam dii  
 is-to-be-judged the better (cause), which even the gods  
 adjuverunt. Vero, tuâ clementiâ cognitâ,  
 assisted (and favoured). But your clemency being-known,  
 quis non probet eam victoriam, in quâ nemo  
 who does not 'approve-of that victory, in which no-one  
 occiderit nisi armatus?  
 may-have-fallen unless (he were) armed?

7. Sed, ut omittam communem causam,  
 But, that I-may-omit the general cause,  
 veniamus ad nostram utrum  
 let-us-come to our (particular cause of Ligarius), whether  
 tandem existimas fuisse facilius, Tubero,  
 in-fine do-you-think (it) to-have-been easier, O Tubero, (that)  
 Ligarium exire ex Africâ, an vos  
 Ligarius (should) depart from Africa, or (that) you (should)  
 non venire in Africam? Ne poteramus,  
 not arrive in Africa? But could-we (avoid doing so),  
 inquires, quum senatus censuisset? Si consulis  
 you-say, when the senate had-decreed-it? If you-consult  
 me, nullo modo. Sed tamen  
 me, (I say you could) in-no way (avoid doing so). But however  
 idem senatus legaverat Ligarium.  
 the same senate had-sent-as-lieutenant Ligarius (into Africa).

Atque ille paruit, eo tempore,  
 And he obeyed, at-that time, [before the civil war,]  
 quum erat necesse parere senatui; vos paruistis  
 when it-was necessary to-obey the senate; (but) you obeyed  
 tunc, quum nemo paruit, qui noluit.  
 then, [during the civil war,] when no-one obeyed, who did-not-wish

Reprehendo igitur? Vero minime; enim neque  
 Do-I-blame (you) therefore? Not in-the-least; for neither  
 licuit vestro generi, nomini, familiæ, disciplinæ,  
 was-it-allowed 'to your 'race, name, family, and education.

aliter. Sed non concedo hoc, ut  
 (to do) otherwise. But 'I-do not 'grant this, that (those)  
 rebus quibus gloriemini in vobis, easdem  
 'things which you-glory-of in yourselves, (that) the same-thing

reprehendatis in aliis. Sors Tuberonis  
you-should-blame in others. The lot of Tubero [the father, for the

conjecta est ex consulto senatûs,  
command of a province,] was-drawn by a decree of-the-senate,

quum ipse non adesset, etiam  
when he-himself 'was not 'present, (and when) 'he-was also  
'impediretur morbo; statuerat excusare.  
hindered by-sickness; he-had-determined to excuse (himself).

Ego novi hæc propter necessitudines omnes,  
I knew these-things on-account-of the intimacies (of) all-kinds,

quæ sunt mihi cum L. Tuberone.  
which are (peculiar) to-me with L. Tubero.

Eruditi unâ domi, contubernales  
We-were-instructed together at-home, (we were) mess-mates (in)

militiæ, post affines, denique in omni  
war, afterwards connected-by-marriage, in-a-word during all

vitâ familiares, etiam magnum vinculum,  
life familiar-acquaintances, also (that) great bond

quòd semper usi sumus  
(of union existed between us), because 'we-were always 'devoted (to)

iisdem studiis. Scio igitur Tuberonem  
the-same studies (and pursuits). I-know therefore, (that) Tubero

voluisse manere domi; sed quidam ita agebat  
desired to-remain at-home; but a certain-person so acted

ita opponebat sanctissimum nomen  
and urged, (and) 'gave such 'force to-the-most-sacred name

reipublicæ, ut etiamsi sentiret aliter, tamen  
of-the-republic, that although he-might-think otherwise, however

posset non sustinere pondus ipsorum verborum.  
he-could not sustain the weight of-his words.

Cessit auctoritati amplissimi viri, vel potius  
He yielded to-the-authority of-a-most-distinguished man, or rather

paruit. Profectus est unâ cum iis, causa  
he-obeyed (him). He-departed together with those, the cause

quorum erat una; fecit tardius  
of-whom was one-and-the-same (with his); he-made a slow

iter. Itaque venit in Africam jam  
journey. Therefore he-arrived in Africa (when) already

occupatam. Hinc oritur crimen it  
 occupied. Hence originates (the charge of) crime against

Ligarium, vel potius ira; nam si est  
 Ligarius, or rather (of) anger (against him); for if it-is

illum crimen voluisse, est non minus magnum  
 my crime to-have-wished, it-is no less a great

vos voluisse obtinere Africam.  
 crime) (that) you wished to-obtain (possession of) Africa

arcem omnium provinciarum, natam ad  
 the citadel of-all the provinces, (a country) fitted-by-nature to

gerendum bellum contra hanc urbem, quàm  
 carrying-on war against this city, than (that)

aliquem maluisse se. Atque  
 any-one else might-have-wished (to obtain it for) himself. And

tamen is aliquis non fuit Ligarius.  
 though this some-one 'might not 'have-been Ligarius

Varus dicebat se habere imperium; certe  
 Varus said (that) he had the command; 'he certainly

habebat fasces. Sed, quoquo modo illud habet  
 had the fasces. But, in-whatever manner that may-hold

se, quid valet hæc vestra querela?  
 itself, [however that may be], what avails this your complaint

“Non recepti sumus in provinciam.”  
 (that) “‘We-were not ‘received in the province.”

Quid si essetis? Ne tradituri fuistis eam  
 What if you-had-been? Would-you-have-delivered it (up)

Cæsari, an retenturi contra Cæsarem?  
 to-Cæsar, or have-held (it) against Cæsar?

8. Vide, Cæsar, quid licentiæ, vel potius audaciæ,  
 See, O Cæsar, what licence, or rather audacity

qua liberalitas det. Si Tubero responderit,  
 your liberality gives (us). If Tubero should-repy, (that)

suum patrem traditurum fuisse tibi Africam, què  
 his father would-have-delivered-up to-you Africa, whither

senatus que sors miserat, non  
 the senate and the lot (he drew) had-sent (him), ‘I-shall not

tubitabo, apud te ipsum cujus interfuit,  
 ‘hesitate before you yourself, (O Cæsar,) whose interest-it-was.



eum facere id, reprehendere ejus consilium  
(that) he should-do this, to-reprov: his intention

gravissimis verbis. Enim non si  
with-the-most-severe words For (it does) not (follow, that) if

ea res fuisset grata tibi, esset etiam  
this thing may-have-been acceptable to-you, (that) it-should also

probata. Sed jam omitto totum hoc; non  
be-approved (by you). But 'I now 'omit all this; not

tam ne offendam tuas patientissimas aures,  
so-much lest I-might-offend your most-patient ears,

quàm Tubero ne videatur facturum fuisse,  
as-that Tubero 'might not 'seem to-have-been-about-to-do,

quod nunquam cogitavit. Igitur veniebatis  
that-which 'he never 'contemplated (doing). Therefore you-came

in provinciam Africam, unam ex  
(and attempted to enter) into the province (of) Africa, the one of

omnibus, maxime infestam huic  
all (others) the most-greatly inimical (to the results of) this

victoriæ; in qua erat  
victory (of Pharsalus); in which (country of Africa) there-was

potentissimus rex, inimicus huic causæ,  
a-most-powerful king, opposed to-this cause (of Cæsar),

voluntas, aliena, firmi  
the disposition (of the people of the province) hostile, firm (and

atque magni conventus.  
determined), and large assemblages (of Roman citizens, opposed

Quæro, quid facturi fuistis. Quamquam  
to Cæsar). I-ask, what would-you-have-done. Yet

dubitem, quid facturi fuistis, quum videam,  
may-I (not) 'doubt, what you-would-have-done, when I-see,

quid feceritis? Prohibiti estis ponere pedem in  
what you-have-done? You-were-prohibited to-set a foot i

vestrâ provinciâ, et prohibiti cum summâ injuriâ.  
your province, and prohibited with the greatest injustice.

Quomodo tulistis id? Ad quem detulistis?  
How did-you-bear this? To whom did-you-carry

querelam injuriæ acceptæ? Nempe  
the complaint of-the-injury (and injustice) received (by you)? Why



igitur fuit unquam tanta, in ullo homine?  
 therefore was (it) ever so-great, in any man?

constantiam dico? nescio an possim  
 constancy do-I-say? I-know-not whether I-might (not)

melius dicere patientiam. Enim quotus quisque  
 better say patience. For what individual

fecisset istud, ut in civili dissensione,  
 would-have-done this-thing, that in civil dissensions,

rediret ad eos ipsos, a quibus non  
 he-should-return to those same, by whom 'he-had not

esset receptus, etiam esset rejectus cum crudelitate.  
 'been-received, (and) even was-rejected with cruelty.

Cujusdam magni animi, atque  
 (This would be the act) of-some great mind, and

ejus viri, quem nulla contumelia, nulla vis,  
 of-that man, whom no contumely, no force,

nullum periculum possit depellere, de susceptâ  
 no danger could drive, from (his) adopted

causâ, que propositâ sententiâ. Enim ut  
 cause, and formed opinion. For although

cetera fuissent paria Tuberoni cum Varo,  
 other-things may-have-been equal to-Tubero with Varus,

honos, nobilitas, splendor, ingenium, quæ fuerunt  
 honour, nobility, splendour, (and) talent, which were

nequaquam; hoc certe præcipuum  
 by-no-means (equal); this (was) certainly the particular (advantage)

Tuberonis, quod venerat in suam provinciam cum  
 of-Tubero, that he-had-come in his province with

justo imperio ex consulto senatûs.  
 a just (and legal) command (derived) from a decree of-the-senate.

Hinc prohibitus non ad Cæsarem,  
 Hence (when) prohibited (he did) not (go) to Cæsar,

ne iratus; non domum,  
 lest (he might appear) to-be-angry (with his party; and) no home,

ne iners; non in aliquam  
 lest (he might seem to be) inactive; not to any (other)

regionem, ne videretur condemnare illam causam,  
 country, lest he-might-seem to-condemn that cause,

quam secutus est: venit in Macedo  
 which 'he-had (adopted and) 'followed: he-came to Macedo  
 niam, ad Cn. Pompeii castra, in eam ipsam causam,  
 nia, to Cn. Pompey's camp, for that same cause,  
 a quâ rejectus erat cum injuriâ. Quid? quum  
 from which he-had-been-rejected with injury. What? when  
 ista res nihil commovisset animum ejus, ad  
 this thing 'had not-at-all 'moved the mind of-him, to  
 quem veneratis, credo fuistis languis  
 whom you-had-come, I-believe (that) you-were (excited) by-a-more-lan-  
 diore studio in causâ; eratis tantummodo in  
 guid zeal for the cause; you-were only in  
 præsidiis, vero animi abhorrebant a  
 garrisons (and camps), but (your) minds became-estranged from  
 causâ; an ut fit in civilibus  
 the cause; or, (was it so,) as is-done [as is the case] in civil  
 bellis, nec in vobis magis quàm in reliquis;  
 wars, nor in you more than in the rest; (that,  
 enim omnes tenebamur studio vincendi.  
 indeed 'we-are all 'possessed with-the-desire of-conquering  
 Fui semper equidem auctor pacis; sed tum  
 I-was always indeed the advocate of-peace; but then (I-was  
 serò; enim erat amentis, cogitare pacem,  
 too-late; for it-was (the part) of-a-madman, to-think (of) peace.  
 quum videres aciem. Omnes,  
 when you-saw (the armies drawn up) in-order-of-battle. All  
 inquam, volebamus vincere; tu certe præcipue,  
 (of us), I-say, wished to-conquer; you indeed especially,  
 qui venisses in eum locum, ubi esset  
 who had-come into that place, where 'it-would (necessarily) 'be  
 tibi pereundum, nisi vicisses; quanquam,  
 for-you (that you) must-perish, unless you-had-conquered; however,  
 ut res nunc habet se, non  
 as the thing now has itself [as things now are], 'I do not  
 dubito, quin anteponas hanc salutem  
 doubt, but-that you-prefer this (present) safety (of yours)  
 illi victoriæ.  
 to-that victory.

10. Ego non dicerem hæc, Tubero, si aut  
I-would not say these-things, O Tubero, if either

pœniteret vos vestrae constantiæ,  
it-repented you [if either you repented] of-your constancy,

aut Cæsarem sui beneficii. Nunc  
or Caesar of-his benefits, (conferred on you). 'I now

quæro, utrum persequamini vestras injurias,  
ask, whether you-are-seeking-to-redress your-own injuries,

an reipublicæ? Si reipublicæ; quid  
or (those) of-the-republic? If of-the-republic; what

respondebitis de vestrâ perseverantiâ, in illâ  
will-you-reply concerning your perseverance, in that

causâ? si vestras videte, ne  
cause (of Pompey)? if your-own (cause) see, lest

erretis, qui putetis, Cæsarem fore  
you-may-be-mistaken, who may-think, (that) Caesar would-be

iratum vestris inimicis, quum ignoverit suis.  
angry with-your enemies, when he-has-forgiven his-own.

Itaque, num videor tibi esse occupatus  
Therefore, whether do-I-seem to-you (O Caesar) to-be-occupied

in causâ Ligarii? num dicere de  
with the cause of-Ligarius? whether (do I seem) to-speak concerning

ejus facti? Quidquid dixi volo referri  
his action (and conduct)? Whatever I-said I-wish to-be-referred

ad unam summam vel humanitatis, vel  
to one principal-thing (that) either 'of (your) 'humanity, or

clementiæ, vel misericordiæ. Egi  
clemency, or mercy. I-have-conducted-and-pleaded

multas causas, et quidem cum te, Cæsar, dum  
many causes, and indeed with you, O Cæsar, while

ratio tuorum honorum tenuit te in foro;  
the course of-your honours kept you in the forum; (but)

certe nunquam hoc modo. "Ignoscite, iudices;  
certainly never in-this manner. "Pardon, O judges,

erravit; lapsus est; non putavit; si unquam  
he-has-erred; he-has-fallen; 'he-did not 'think; if ever

posthac." Sic solet agi apud  
hereafter." Thus it-is-usual to-act (and plead) with



parentem; ad judices, "non fecit,  
 a parent; (but) to judges (thus), "he-did not do-it, 'he-did  
 non cogitavit; testes falsi, crimen  
 not 'think-of-it; the witnesses (are) false, the crime (he is accused  
 of is) fictitious." Dic, Cæsar, te esse judicem de  
 facto Ligarii; quære, in quibus præsidiis  
 he acts of-Ligarius; ask, in what garrisons and camps)  
 fuerit. Taceo; ne quidem collige  
 he-may-have-been. I-am-silent; 'I-do not indeed 'collect  
 hæc, quæ fortasse etiam valerent apud judicem:  
 those proofs, which perhaps also might-avail before a judge:  
 "profectus legatus ante bellum, relictus in  
 "he-went a lieutenant before the war, (and was) left in  
 pace, oppressus bello, in eo ipso non  
 peace, (but) overtaken by-war, in that same (war) he was not  
 acerbus totus tuus animo ac studio."  
 a severe (opponent), (but) altogether yours in-mind and good-will."  
 Sic solet agi ad judicem;  
 Thus it-is-usual (for the pleadings) to-be-carried-on before a judge;  
 sed ego loquor ad parentem. Erravit, fecit  
 but I am-speaking to a parent. He-has-erred, he-acted  
 temere, poenitet, configio ad tuam clementiam,  
 rashly, he-repents, I-take-refuge in your clemency,  
 peto veniam delicti; oro, ut ignoscas.  
 I-beg pardon (for) (my) offence; I-pray, that you-pardon (me).  
 Si nemo impetravit,  
 If no-one has-obtained (such favours of you), (it would be)  
 arroganter; si plurimi, tu idem  
 arrogant (in me, thus to address you); (but) if many, you the same  
 fer opem, qui dedisti spem. An non sit  
 bring assistance, who have-given hope. May not there-be  
 causa sperandi Ligario, quam sit etiam locus  
 cause of-hoping to-Ligarius, when there-may-be also a place  
 mihi apud te, deprecandi pro altero? Quamquam  
 for-me before you, of-soliciting for another? Although  
 spes causæ est neque posita in hæc  
 the hope 'of (this) 'cause is neither placed in this

oratione, nec in studiis eorum, qui tui  
 oration, nor in the zeal of-those, who (are) your

necessarii, petunt a te pro  
 intimate-acquaintances, (and who) entreat of you for

Ligario.

Ligarius. [Who ask pardon of you for Ligarius.]

11. Enim vidi, et cognovi, quid maxime  
 For I-have-seen, and known, what 'you principally

spectares, quum multi laborant pro salute  
 'look-to, when many exert-themselves for the safety

alicujus: causas rogantium esse  
 of-any-one: (that) the cases (of those) entreating-you were

gratiosiores apud te, quam vultus;  
 more-acceptable to you, than (their) faces; (and that)

neque te spectare quam is esset tuus  
 neither 'do you 'consider how-much he may-be your

necessarius, qui oraret te, sed quam  
 intimate-friend, who entreats you, but how-much (he is the friend

illius, pro quo laboraret. Itaque tu quidem  
 of-him, for whom he-exerts-himself. Therefore you indeed

tribuis tuis ita multa, ut illi interdum  
 grant to-your (friends) so much, that they sometimes

videantur mihi beatiore, qui fruuntur tuâ liberalitate,  
 seem to-me richer, who enjoy your liberality,

quam tu ipse, qui concedas tam multa illis.  
 than you (are) yourself, who give-up so much to-them

Sed tamen video, ut dixi, causas  
 But however I-perceive, as I-said (before), (that) the cases

plus valere apud te quam preces,  
 (taemselves) 'have more 'weight with you than entreaties,

que te moveri maxime ab iis quorum  
 and (that) you are-moved most-especially by those whose

dolorem, in petendo, videas justissimum.  
 affliction, in petitioning, you-perceive (to be) the truest.

In conservando Q. Ligario, tu quidem facies  
 In preserving Q. Ligarius you indeed will-do (what

gratum multis tuis necessariis; sed  
 will be) agreeable to-many (of) your intimate-friends; but

quæso considera hoc, quod  
 I-entreat (you) consider this (affair carefully), (and) which  
 soles. Possum proponere  
 (you-are-accustomed-to-do). I-can place-before-you (as suppliant)  
 fortissimos viros, Sabinos probatissimos  
 for Ligarius) the most-brave men, Sabines the-most-approved-of  
 tibi, que totum Sabinum agrum,  
 (and esteemed) by-you, and also the whole Sabine district  
 florem Italiae, robur reipublicæ. Nosti  
 the flower of-Italy, (and) the strength of-the-republic. You-have-known  
 homines optime; animadverte mœstitiam et dolorem  
 the men well; observe the sadness and grief  
 omnium horum. Vides lacrimas que squalorem  
 of-all these. You-see the tears and neglected-dress  
 hujus T. Brocchi ipsius et filii, de quo  
 of-this-here T. Brocchus himself and 'of (his) 'sons, concerning whom  
 non dubito quid existimes. Quid dicam  
 'I-do not 'doubt what you-may-think. What shall-I-say  
 de fratribus? Noli, Cæsar, putare  
 concerning (his) brothers? Do-not, O Cæsar, think (that)  
 nos agere de capite unius;  
 we are-pleading about the capital-punishment of-one-individual;  
 aut tres Ligarii sunt retinendi tibi in civitate,  
 either three Ligarii are to-be-retained (by) you in the city,  
 aut tres exterminandi ex civitate. Quodvis  
 or three are-to-be-banished from the city. Any  
 exilium est optatius his, quàm patria,  
 banishment is more-desirable to-these, than (their) country,  
 quàm domus, quàm dii penates, illo  
 than (their) home, than (their) household-gods, that (other)  
 uno exulante. Si faciunt fraterne,  
 one (being) exiled. If they-act fraternally,  
 si pie, si cum dolore, horum  
 if piously, if with grief, 'may their  
 lacrimæ moveant te, pietas moveat,  
 tears 'move you, 'may (their) piety 'move (you), 'may  
 germanitas moveat; illa tua vox  
 'their) fraternal-relationship 'move (you); 'may that your expression

valeat, quæ vicit. Enim audiebamus te dicere  
prevail, which conquered. For we-heard you say (that)  
nos putare omnes adversarios, nisi qui essent  
we thought all (to be) enemies, unless those-who were  
cum nobis; te omnes tuos, qui  
with us; (but that) you (looked upon) all (as) your-friends, who  
essent non contra te. Ne igitur vides hunc  
were not against you. 'Do-you not therefore 'see this

splendorem omnium, hanc domum Broecchorum,  
splendour of-all (the knights), this family of-the-Brocchi,

hunc L. Marcium, C. Cæsetium, L. Confidium,  
this L. Marcins, C. Cæsetium, (and) L. Confidium,

omnes hosce Romanos equites, qui adsunt,  
all these-here Roman knights, who are-present,

veste mutata, viros non solum notos tibi, verum  
in-mourning-apparel, men not only known to-you, but

etiam probatos? Fuerunt cum te.  
also approved (and esteemed by you)? They-were with you.

Atque irascebamur his, requirebamur hos  
And we-were-angry with-them, we-missed them (from

nonnulli etiam minabantur his. Igitur  
among us), some also were-threatened by-them. Therefore

conserva suos tuis; ut quemadmodum  
preserve their (friends) with-yours; that whereas

cetera, quæ dicta sunt a te,  
the other-things, which have-been-said by you, (have been found to be

sic hoc reperitur  
true), so this (saying of yours above mentioned) may-be-found (to be)

verissimum.  
most-true.

12. Quòd si posses perspicere penitus  
For if you-could 'see intimately 'into

concordiam Ligariorum, judicares omnes  
the concord of-the-Ligarii, you-would-think (that) all

fratres fuisse cum te. An potest quisquam  
the brothers were with you. Whether can any-one

dubitare, quin, si Q. Ligarius potuisset esse in  
doubt, but-that, if Q. Ligarius could-have-been in

Italiâ, fuisset futurus in eadem sententiâ, in qua  
Italy, he-would-have-been of the same opinion, in which

fratres fuerunt? Quis est, qui non  
(his) brothers were? Who is-there, who 'may not

noverit conspirantem consensum, pæne  
'have-known the agreeing harmony (and dispositions), almost

conflatum horum, in hac prope  
melted-together-into-one of-these (brothers), in this nearly

fraternâ æqualitate? qui non sentiat hoc,  
fraternal equality? who 'does not 'feel this, (that)

quavis prius futurum fuisse, quam ut hi  
any-thing 'would sooner 'be-about-to-happen, than that these

fratres diversas sententias, que sequerentur  
brothers (would be of) different opinions, and would-follow

fortunas? Igitur omnes  
the fortunes (of different parties)? Therefore all (the brothers)

fuerunt cum te voluntate: unus abreptus est  
were with you in-good-will: one was-forced-away

tempestate; qui si fecisset id consilio, esset  
by-adverse-circumstances; who if he-had-done it by-design, would-be

similis eorum, quos tamen tu voluisti esse salvos.  
like those, whom however you wished to-be safe.

Sed ierit ad bellum, discesserit non solùm  
But if-he-may-have-gone to war, he-departed not only

a te, verùm etiam a fratribus, hi  
from you, but also from (his) brothers, these [his brothers]

tui orant te, Equidem, quum  
your-friends entreat you, (for his pardon). Indeed, when

interessem omnibus tuis negotiis, teneo memoriâ  
I-was-mixed-up in-all your affairs, I-remember

qualis T. Ligarius, urbanus quæstor fuerit tum  
how T. Ligarius, the city quæstor 'was then

erga te et tuam dignitatem. Sed est  
'disposed towards you and your dignity. But it-is (of)

parum me meminisse hoc; spero  
small (account for) me to-have-remembered this; I-hope (that)

te etiam, qui soles oblivisci nihil nisi  
you also, who are-accustomed to-forget nothing unless



injuriarum, quoniam hoc est  
injuries, because this (forgetfulness of injuries) is (a part) 'of  
animi, quoniam etiam tui ingenii,  
(your) mind, because (it is a part) also of-your disposition,  
reminiscentem te recordari aliquid de  
calling-to-mind (that) you would-remember something concerning  
illo quaestorio officio hujus, etiam de quibusdam  
the quaestor office of-that-man, so-also concerning some  
aliis quaestoribus. Igitur hic T. Ligarius, qui tum  
other quaestors. Therefore this T. Ligarius, who then  
nihil aliud egit, (enim neque divinabat  
'had nothing else 'in-view, (for 'he-did not 'foresees  
haec), nisi ut judicares eum  
these) (present circumstances), unless that you-might-judge him (to be)  
studiosum tui, et bonum virum, nunc supplex  
devoted to-you, and a good man, now a suppliant  
petit salutem fratris a te. Quum admonitus  
begs-for the safety of-a-brother from you. When being-reminded  
officio hujus, dederis quam,  
of-the-services of-him (T. Ligarius), you-will-have-granted this (his  
utrique his condonaveris  
safety), to-both these (suppliant brothers), you-will-have-restored  
tres optimos et integerrimos fratres, non solum  
three most-excellent and most-irreproachable brothers, not only  
sibi ipsos, neque his tot, ac talibus  
to-themselves, neither to-these so-many, and such (esteemed)  
viris, neque nobis necessariis, sed etiam  
men, nor to-us (his) particular-acquaintances, but also  
reipublicae. Igitur fac, quod fecisti nuper in  
to-the-republic. Therefore do, that-which you-did lately in  
curiâ, de nobilissimo et clarissimo homine,  
the senate-house, for a most-noble and most-illustrious man,  
nunc idem in foro, de optimis,  
[M. Marcellus,] now the same in the forum, for these-most-excellent,  
et huic omni frequentiae, probatissimis fratribus.  
and to-this entire crowded-assembly, most-approved-of brothers.  
Ut concessisti illum senatui, sic da hunc  
As you-granted him [Marcellus] to-the-senate, so give this-one

populo, cujus voluntatem  
 [Ligarius] to-the-people, whose good-will (and affections) 'you  
 semper habuisti carissimam; et si ille dies fuit  
 always 'held most-dear; and if that day was  
 gloriosissimus tibi, gratissimus Romano populo;  
 most-glorious to-you, (it was) most-agreeable to-the-Roman people;  
 noli obsecro, C. Cæsar, dubitare quærere  
 do-not I entreat (you), O C. Cæsar, hesitate to-see  
 similem laudem illi gloriæ quàm sæpissime. Nihil  
 a similar praise to-that glory, as often-as-possible. Nothing  
 est tam popolare quàm bonitas; nulla le tuis  
 is so popular as kindness; none of your  
 plurimis virtutibus est nec admirabilior, nec  
 many virtues is either more-admirable, or  
 gratior misericordiâ; enim homines  
 more-acceptable, (than your) mercy; for men  
 accedunt propius ad deos nullâ re, quàm  
 approach nearer to the gods in-no-thing (more), than  
 dando salutem hominibus. Nec tua fortuna habet  
 in-giving safety to-men. For your fortune has  
 nihil majus, quàm ut possis, nec natura  
 nothing greater, than that you-can, nor (your) nature (anything  
 melius, quàm ut velis servare quàm plurimos.  
 better, than that you-wish to-save as many (as you can,  
 Causa forsitan postulat longiorem orationem,  
 The cause (itself) perhaps may-require a longer speech,  
 certe tua natura brevior. Quare, quum  
 (but) certainly your nature a shorter-one. Therefore, as  
 arbitrer esse utilius te ipsum loqui,  
 I-think it-to-be more-useful (that) you yourself should-commune  
 quam me aut quemquam  
 (with yourself), than (that) I or any-one-else (should speak)  
 cum te, jam faciam finem;  
 with you, 'I-shall now 'make an end (of my discourse); 'I-shall  
 tantùm admonebo te, si dederis salutem illi  
 only 'remind you, (that) if you-give safety to-him  
 absenti, te daturum omnibus his præsentibus.  
 absent, (that) you will-give-it to-all those present.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO,*  
 PRO  
 FOR  
 REGE DEIOTARO.  
*KING DEIOTARUS*

---

1. QUUM in omnibus gravioribus causis, O. Cæsar,  
 Though in all more-important causes, O C. Cæsar,  
 initio dicendi soleam vehe-  
 in-the-beginning 'of (my) 'discourse I-may-be-accustomed (to be) more-  
 mentius commoveri, quàm videatur vel usus,  
 violently agitated, than it-may-seem (that) either practice,  
 vel mea ætas postulare, tum in hac causâ  
 or my age requires, yet in this cause (especially)  
 multa ita perturbant me, ut quantum studii mea  
 many-things so disturb me, that as-much of-zeal (as) my  
 fides afferat mihi ad defendendum  
 good-faith, (and promise,) may-induce me to defend  
 salutem regis Deiotari, tantum facultatis  
 the safety of-king Deiotarus, so-much 'of (my) 'power 'does (my)  
 timor detrahat. Primum dico pro  
 fear 'deprive (me of). In-the-first-place I-am-pleading for  
 capite que fortunis regis; quod ipsum etsi non  
 the life, and fortunes of-a-king; which-thing itself although not  
 iniquum, duntaxat in tuo periculo  
 unjust (or improper), at-least in your danger, (or any thing

tamen est ita inusitatum, regem  
 affecting your interest,) however it-is so unusual-a-thing, for-a-king  
 esse reum capitis, ut ante hoc tempus  
 to-be a defendant in-a-capital-crime, that before this time,  
 non sit auditum. Deinde nunc  
 'it-has not 'been heard-of. In-the-next-place I-am now  
 cogor defendere contra atrocissimum  
 compelled to-defend against (the accusation of) the most-atrocious  
 crimen, eum regem, quem antea solebamus cum  
 crime, that king, whom heretofore we-used, with  
 cuncto senatu ornare, pro ejus perpetuis meritis  
 all the senate to-honour, for his uninterrupted services  
 in nostram rempublicam. Accedit, ut  
 towards our republic. (And to this) is-added, that  
 conturber crudelitate alterius accusatorum,  
 I-am-disturbed by-the-cruelty of-one of-the-accusers, (and)  
 indignitate alterius. Crudelis Castor, ne dicam  
 by-the-baseness of-the-other. O cruel Castor, not (to) say  
 sceleratum et impium! qui, nepos, adduxerit  
 wicked and impious! who, a grandson, has-brought (his)  
 avum in discrimen capitis, que intulerit  
 grandfather in danger 'of (his) 'life, and brought  
 terrorem suæ adolescentiæ ei,  
 the terror of-his youth to-him, [and caused his grandfather  
 cujus senectutem debebat tueri  
 to fear him quite a youth,] whose old-age he-ought to-defend  
 et tegere, que duxerit commendationem  
 and protect, and (who) has-derived the commendation 'of (his)  
 ineuntis ætatis ab impietate et scelere; impulerit  
 'early age by impiety and wickedness; he-impelled  
 servum avi, corruptum præmiis, ad  
 the slave 'of (his) 'grandfather, corrupted by-bribes, to  
 accusandum dominum, abduxerit a  
 accuse (his) master, (and) he-led-him-away from  
 pedibus legatorum.  
 the feet of-the-ambassadors [and took him from the service of the am-  
 Autem quum videbam os,  
 bassadors of the King]. But when I-saw the countenance

quum audiebam verba fugitivi accusantis  
 when I-heard the words 'of (this) 'runaway accusing (his)  
 dominum, et absentem dominum, et dominum  
 master, and an absent master, and a master  
 amicissimum nostræ reipublicæ, non tam dolebam  
 most-friendly to-our republic, not so-much did-I-grieve-at  
 afflictam regiam conditionem, quàm extimescebam  
 the afflicted royal condition, as I-feared  
 de communibus fortunis. Nam quum  
 concerning the common fortunes [general safety]. For when

more majorum, ne liceat de  
 according-to-the-usage of-our-ancestors, 'it-is not 'allowed as-respects  
 servo quæri in dominum, quidem  
 a slave, (that) he-be-examined against (his) master, even  
 tormentis, in quâ quæstione dolor possit  
 by-torture, in which examination (by torture) pain might  
 elicere veram vocem etiam ab invito;  
 elicit the true word [the truth] even from the unwilling;

servus exortus est, qui solutus accuset  
 (but here) a slave rose-up, who unrestrained accuses  
 eum, quem in equuleo posset non  
 him, whom on the rack he-could not  
 appellare.  
 make-mention-of (accuse).

2. Etiam illud interdum,  
 Also that (which I am now going to mention) sometimes,

C. Cæsar, perturbat me; quod tamen, quum  
 O C. Cæsar, disquiets me; which however, as  
 recognovi te penitus, desino timere; enim re  
 I-have-known you well, I-cease to-fear; for in-principle  
 est iniquum, sed tua sapientiâ fit æquissimum.  
 it-is unjust, but by-your wisdom it-becomes most-just.

Nam dicere apud eum de facinore, contra cujus  
 For to-plead before him of a crime, against whose  
 vitam, arguare inisse consilium facinoris,  
 life, you-may-be-accused to-have-entered-into a plan of-crime,

si consideres per se ipsum, est grave;  
 if you-consider (this) by itself, it-is (a) serious



enim est fere nemo, qui  
 (and unpleasant affair); for there-is almost no-one, who (being)  
 judex sui periculi, non præbeat se æquiores  
 judge of-his-own danger, 'does not 'show himself more-favourable  
 sibi, quam reo. Sed, Cæsar, tua præstans  
 to-himself, than to-the-defendant. But, O Cæsar, your excellent  
 que singularis natura minuit hunc metum  
 and singular (good) natural-disposition diminishes this fear  
 mihi; enim non timeo tam, quid tu  
 (in) me; for 'I-do not fear so-much, what you (may judge)  
 de Deiotaro, quam intelligo, quid velis  
 concerning Deiotarus, as I-understand, what you-wish (that)  
 ceteros judicare de te. Etiam  
 others judge of you, (as an impartial judge). 'I-am also  
 moveor insolentiâ loci ipsius, quod dico  
 moved by-the-unusualness of-the-place itself, that I-plead  
 tantam causam, quanta nulla unquam  
 such (and so great) a cause, as never yet  
 versata est in disceptatione, intra domesticos  
 was in dispute, [on trial,] within domestic  
 parietes, dico extra conventum et  
 walls, I-plead without the assembly (and out of court), and  
 eam frequentiam, in quâ studia oratorum  
 (without) that numerous-assemblage, on which the exertions of-orators  
 solent niti: in tuis oculis, tuo ore  
 are-accustomed to-depend: (it is) in your eyes, your countenance  
 que vultu acquiesco; intueor  
 and face (alone, that) I-am-pleased (and cease to fear); I-behold  
 te unum; omnis mea oratio spectat ad te unum.  
 you alone; all my speech (is) directed to you alone  
 Quæ sunt gravissima mihi ad spem obtinendæ  
 Which-things are most-weighty for-me for the hope of-obtaining  
 veritatis, ad motum animi, et ad omnem  
 the truth, (but) for the excitement of-the-mind, and for all  
 impetum dicendi que contentionem leviora.  
 the force of-speaking and controversy lighter (and em-  
 Enim si, C. Cæsar, dicerem hanc causam  
 arrassing). For if, O C. Cæsar, I-were-to-plead this cause

in foro, te eodem audiente et disceptante,  
in the forum, you the same hearing and deciding,

quantam alacritatem concursus  
what alacrity (and excitement) 'would the concourse

Romani populi afferret mihi! Enim quis civis  
of-the-Roman people 'bring to-me! For what citizen

non faveret ei regi, omnem cujus ætatem  
'would not 'favour that king, all whose life

meminisset esse consumptam in bellis Romani  
he-would-have-remembered to-have-spent in the wars of-the-Roman

populi? Spectarem curiam, intuerer forum,  
people? I-would-see the-senate-house, I-would-look-over the forum,

denique testarer cælum ipsum. Sic quum  
in-fine 'I-might-call heaven itself 'to-witness. Thus when

recordarer beneficia et immortalium deorum,  
I-might-have-recalled the kindness both of-the-immortal gods

et Romani populi, et senatûs in regem  
and of-the-Roman people, and of-the-senate towards king

Deiotarum, posset nullo modo oratio deesse mihi.  
Deiotarus, there-could in-no wise a speech be-wanting to-me.

Quoniam parietes faciunt quæ  
(And) because the walls (of the house) make these-things

angustiora, que actio maximæ causæ  
more-narrow (and difficult), and the pleading of-a-great cause

debilitatur loco, est tuum, Cæsar, qui sæpe  
is-weakened by-the-place, it-is your (part), O Cæsar, who 'have often

dixisti, pro multis, referre ad te ipsum, quid  
'pleaded for many, to-refer to your self, what 'may

nunc sit mihi animi; quo facilius quum  
now 'be my state-of-mind; whereby the more-easily as-well

tua æquitas tum diligentia audiendi  
your justice as (your) diligent-attention (in) listening

minuat hanc meam perturbationem. Sed antequam  
may-lessen this my embarrassment. But before

dico de accusatione ipsâ, dicam  
I-say (any thing) concerning the accusation itself, I-shall-say

pauca de spe accusatorum. Qui quum  
a few-words concerning the hope of-the-accusers. Who when

videantur, nec ingenio, nec usu  
 they-may-seem, neither 'by (their) 'talents, nor by-practice  
 atque exercitatione rerum valere,  
 and experience (in) affairs (of this kind) to-be-of-any-account,  
 tamen non venerunt ad hanc causam sine  
 yet 'they-did not 'come to this cause without  
 aliquâ spe, et cogitatione.  
 some hope, and reflection (on the subject).

3. Non erant nescii, te iratum  
 'They-were not 'ignorant, (that) you were  
 fuisse regi Deiotaro; meninerant illum  
 angry (with) king Delotarus; they-had-remembered (that) he  
 affectum quibusdam incommodis et detrimentis,  
 suffered some inconveniences and losses,  
 propter offensionem tui animi; que  
 on-account-of the displeasure of-your mind (towards him); and  
 quum cognoverant te iratum huic,  
 when they-had-known (that) you were-angry (with) him,  
 tum esse amicum sibi; que quum  
 as-well-as (that you) were friendly to-themselves; and when  
 dicrent apud te ipsum de tuo periculo,  
 they spoke with you yourself (privately) concerning your danger,  
 putabant, ut fictum crimen facile insideret  
 they-thought, that a fictitious crime would easily lodge  
 in exulcerato animo.  
 (and fix itself) in a sore, (and irritated) mind.  
 Quamobrem, Cæsar, libera nos primum hoc metu,  
 Wherefore, O Cæsar, deliver us first from-this fear,  
 per fidem et constantiam, et per tuam  
 by (your) good-faith and firmness, and by your  
 clementiam, ne suspicemur ullam  
 clemency, (so that) we-may not suspect, (that) any  
 partem iracundise residere in te. Oro te per  
 portion of-anger remains in you. I-entreat you by  
 istam dexteram, quam hospes porrexisti  
 that right-hand (of yours), which 'you a guest 'reached-forth  
 regi Deiotaro hospiti; istam dexteram, inquam,  
 to-king-Delotarus (your) host; that right-hand, I-say,

**non tam firmiorem in bellis, nec in proeliis,**  
 (which is) not even more-firm in wars, or in battles,  
**quam in promissis et fide. Tu voluisti inire**  
 than in promises and in-good-faith. You have-chosen to-enter

**domum, et tu renovari vetus**  
 (his) house, and you (desired) to-renew (your) old

**hospitium; ejus dii penates**  
 send-of hospitality-and-friendship; his household-gods

**acceperunt te; aræ que foci regis Deiotari**  
 have-received you; the altars and hearths of-king Deiotarus

**viderunt te amicum et placatum. Quum, Cæsare,**  
 have-seen you friendly and appeased. As, O Cæsar,

**soles facile exorari, tum**  
 you-are-accustomed 'to-be easily 'entreated (to forgive), so

**exorari semel;**  
 (you are used) to-be-entreated, (and to forgive) once (and for ever);

**nemo unquam, inimicus, placavit te,**  
 no-one ever, (being) an-enemy, appeased you, (and became

**qui senserit resedissee ulla**  
 reconciled to you), who might-perceive (that) there remained any

**reliquias simultatis in te. Quamquam cui**  
 rest of-resentment in you. However to-whom 'have

**tus querelæ cum Deiotaro inauditæ sunt?**  
 your complaints (and expostulations) with Deiotarus 'been-unheard-of?

**Tu nunquam accusavisti illum ut hostem, sed ut**  
 You never accused him as an-enemy, but as

**amicum, parum functum officio, quod**  
 a friend, but little discharging the duty (of friendship), because

**fuisset propensior in amicitiam Cn. Pompeii quam in**  
 he-was more inclined to the friendship of-Cn. Pompey than to

**tuam. Tamen dicebas te daturum fuisses**  
 your-friendship. Yet you-said (that) you would-have-granted

**veniam cui ipsi rei, si tantum misisset**  
 pardon for-this same thing, if 'he-had only 'sent

**auxilia Pompeio, vel si etiam filium,**  
 assistance to-Pompey, or if even (he had sent) (his) son (to him),

**ipse usus esset excusatione ætatis.**  
 'had he-himself 'made-use (of) the excuse 'of his 'old-age

Ita quum liberares eum maximis rebus,  
 So-that when you-acquitted him (of) the principal things,  
 relinquebas perparvam culpam amicitiae.  
 you-left (only) the-very-small blame (respecting his) friendship

Itaque non solùm non animadvertisti in eum,  
 Therefore not only 'did-you not 'punish him,

sed liberavisti omni metu, agnovisti  
 but you-released (him) from-all fear, you acknowledged

hospitem, reliquisti regem.  
 the-bond-of-hospitality, (and) you-left (him) a king.

4. Enim neque ille progressus

For neither (did) he proceed (in this affair)

odio tui, sed lapsus est communi errore.  
 through-hatred of-you, but he-fell (into) the common error

Is rex, quem senatus sæpe appellavisset  
 (of us all). This king, whom the senate 'had often 'called

hoc nomine honorificentissimis decretis, que qui,  
 by-this title in-the-most-honourable decrees, and who

quum ab adolescentiâ duxisset illum ordinem  
 as 'he-had from (his) youth 'considered that order

gravissimum que sanctissimum,  
 (of the senate) the most-respectable and most-sacred,

perturbatus est iisdem rebus, quibus nos,  
 was-perplexed (and led astray) by-the-same things, by-which we,

nati in mediâ republicâ, que semper versati,  
 born in the midst (of) the republic, and always residing-therein,

homo longinquus et alienigena.  
 (were), (though he was) a man (living) far-off and a foreigner.

Quum audiret arma sumpta auctoritate  
 When he-heard (that) arms had-been-taken by-the-authority

consentientis senatûs; rempublicam datam  
 of-the-consenting senate; (that) the republic was-given

defendendam consulibus, prætoribus, tribunis plebis,  
 to-be-defended by-the-consuls, the prætors, the tribunes of-the-people,

nobis imperatoribus, move-  
 (and) te-us (who had received the title of) imperator, he-was-

batur animo, et vir, amicissimus huic imperio,  
 troubled in-mind, and a man, most-friendly to-this empire



**extimescebat** de salute Romani populi, in qua  
feared-greatly for the safety of-the-Roman people, in which

**etiam videbat** suam esse inclusam; tamen  
also he-perceived (that) his-own (safety) was-included; however

**in summo timore arbitrabatur** esse sibi  
in the greatest fear he-thought (it) to-be (best) for-himself

**quiescendum.** Vero maxime perturbatus est,  
to-remain-quiet. But 'he-was greatly 'distressed,

**ut audivit** consules profugisse ex Italiâ, que  
when he-heard (that) the consuls had-fled from Italy, and

**omnes consulares** (enim sic nuntiabatur ei),  
all (those of) consular-rank (for so it-was-announced to-him),

**cunctum senatum,** totam Italiam effu-  
(also) the entire senate, (and that) all Italy was-

**sam esse;** enim via patebat ad Orientem, talis  
dispersed; for the road was-open to the East, for-such

**nuntiis et rumoribus,** nec ulli veri  
messengers and reports, nor 'did any true (accounts)

**sequebantur.** Audiebat nihil de tuis conditio-  
'follow. He-heard nothing concerning your propo-

**nibus, nihil de studio concordiae et pacis,**  
sittons, nothing concerning (your) desire of-concord and of-peace

**nihil de conspiratione** certorum hominum  
nothing concerning the conspiracy of-certain men

**contra tuam dignitatem.** Quae quum essent ita,  
against your dignity. Which-things when they-were so,

**tamen tenuit se usque eò,** quoad  
yet-however he-kept himself (quiet) till that (time), that

**legati que literæ venerunt ad eum a Cn.**  
ambassadors and letters came to him from Cn.

**Pompeio.** Ignosce, ignosce, Cæsar, si rex Deiotarus  
Pompey. Pardon, pardon, O Cæsar, if king Deiotarus

**cessit auctoritati ejus viri,** quem nos omnes  
yielded to-the-authority of-that man, whom we all

**secuti sumus;** ad quem quum dii atque homines  
have-followed; on whom when gods and men

**congressissent omnia ornamenta,** tum tu ipse  
have-headed all honours, so-also you yourself (have

plurima et maxima. Enim neque,  
 conferred) many and very-great (favours on him). For neither,  
 si tuæ res gestæ attulerunt obscuritatem laudibus  
 if your deeds have-brought obscurity to-the-praise

ceterorum, idcirco amisimus memoriam  
 (and renown) of-others, 'have-we therefore 'lost the remembrance

Cn. Pompeii. Quis ignorat quantum ejus nomen  
 of-Cn. Pompey. Who is-ignorant how-great his name

fuerit, quantæ opes, quanta  
 (and renown) was, how-great (his) power (and influence), how-great

gloria in omni genere bellorum, quanti honores  
 (his) glory in all kinds of-wars, how-great the honours

Romani populi, quanti senatûs,  
 (received from) the Roman people, how-great (from) the senate,

quanti tui? Ille tantò vicerat superiores  
 how-great (from) yourself? He so-much surpassed (his) predecessors

gloriâ, quantò tu præstitisti omnibus  
 in-glory (and renown), as you have-excelled all-men.

Itaque admirantes numerabamus bella, victorias,  
 Therefore admiring we-counted the wars, the victories,

triumphos, consulatus Cn. Pompeii; tuos possumus  
 the triumphs, the consulships of-Cn. Pompey; (but) yours we-can

non enumerare.  
 not count.

5. Ad eum igitur rex Deiotarus venit, hoc  
 To him therefore king Deiotarus came, in-this

misero que fatali bello, quem antea adjuverat  
 miserable and fatal war, whom before he-had-assisted 'in (his)

justis hostilibus bellis, cum quo erat conjunctus  
 'regular foreign wars, with whom he-was united

non solum hospitio, verum etiam  
 not only by-the-bonds-of-hospitality, but also

familiaritate, et venit vel rogatus, ut amicus,  
 by-familiar-acquaintance, and he-came either asked, as a friend,

vel arcessitus, ut socius, vel evocatus, ut is qui  
 or requested, as an ally, or called-out, as one who

didicisset parere senatui; postremò venit ut ad  
 had-learned to-obey the senate; in-fine he-came as to

fugientem, non ut ad insequentem, id est ad  
one-flying, not as to one-pursuing, that is to

societatem periculi, non ad victoriæ. Itaque,  
the companionship of-danger, not to (that) of-victory. Therefore,

prælio Pharsalico facto, discedit a  
the battle (of) Pharsalious being-determined, he-departed from

Pompeio; noluit persequi infinitam  
Pompey; he-did-not-wish to-follow endless (and uncertain)

spem; duxit satisfactum esse vel officio,  
hopes; he-considered (that) he-had-discharged either (his) duty,

si debuerat quid, vel errori, si  
if he-owed any, or (had atoned for) error, if

nescierat quid; contulit se domum, atque, te  
he-had-mistaken any-thing; he-retuned home, and, you

gerente Alexandrinum bellum, paruit tuis  
carrying-on the Alexandrine war, he-consulted your

utilitatibus. Ille sustentavit exercitum Cn. Domitii,  
interests. He supported the-army of-Cn. Domitius,

amplissimi viri suis tectis et copiis;  
a-most-illustrious man in-his houses and 'with (his) 'means; [he gave

ille misit pecuniam  
quarters and supplies to his army;] he sent money

Ephesum ad eum, quem tu delegisti ex omnibus  
co-Ephesus to him, whom you had-selected from all

tuis fidelissimum et probatissimum; ille  
your (friends, as) the-most-faithful and most-esteemed; he

iterum, ille tertio dedit pecuniam, quæ  
a second-time, he a third-time gave money (to him), which

uterere ad bellum, auctionibus  
you-might-use for the war, public-sales (of his property)

factis; ille objecit suum corpus periculo, fuit cum  
being-made; he exposed his person to-danger, he-was with

te in acie contra Pharnacem, que dixit tuum  
you in battle against Pharnaces, and he-considered your

hostem esse suum. Quæ quidem, Cæsar,  
enemy to-be his. Which-things indeed, O Cæsar,

accepta sunt tibi in eam partem, ut  
were accepted by you in that (good) part, that

affeceris eum amplissimo honore, et  
 you rewarded him with-the-most-ample honour, and  
 nomine regis. Is igitur, non modò liberatus a  
 with-the-name of-king. He therefore, not only freed by  
 te periculo, sed etiam ornatus amplissimo  
 you from-danger, but also invested (by you) with-the-most-ample  
 honore, arguitur, voluisse interficere te suæ  
 honours, is-accused, to-have-desired to-kill you in-his-own  
 domi. Quod tu, nisi judices eum furiosissimum,  
 house. Which you, unless you-suppose him a-most-furious  
 potes non profectò suspicari. Enim ut  
 'madman) can not at-all suspect. For that  
 omittam, tanti sceleris fuerit cujus,  
 I-may-omit, [of] how-great a crime it-would-have-been of-him,  
 in conspectu penatium deorum, necare  
 in the-sight 'of (his) 'household gods, to-kill  
 hospitem; tantæ importunitatis cujus extinguere  
 a-guest; [of] how-great the audacity of-him to-extinguish  
 clarissimum lumen omnium gentium, atque omnis  
 the brightest light of-all nations, and of-all  
 memorise; tantæ ferocitatis cujus non  
 remembrance; [of] how-great the ferocity of-him not  
 extimescere victorem orbis terrarum; tam  
 to-fear the conqueror of-the-world; 'of the so  
 inhumani et ingrati animi cujus inveniri  
 'inhuman and ungrateful mind of-him (as) to-be-found  
 tyrannum in eo, a quo appellatus esset rex;  
 a tyrant towards him, by whom he-was-called king;  
 ut omittam hæc, tanti furoris fuit  
 that I-may-omit these-things, [of] how-great the frenzy would-be  
 hujus, excitare contra se unum omnes reges,  
 of-him, to-excite against himself alone all the kings,  
 quorum erant multi finitimi, omnes liberos  
 of-whom there-were many 'on his 'frontiers, all free  
 populos, omnes socios, omnes provincias, denique  
 people, all the allies, all the provinces, in-fine  
 arma omnium? Quonam modo ille  
 the arms of-all-people? How 'would he

distractus esset, cum regno, cum domo,  
 'have-been-at variance, with (his) kingdom, with (his) house,  
 cum conjuge, cum carrissimo filio, non  
 with (his) wife, (and) with (his) beloved son, not  
 modò perfecto tanto scelere, sed etiam  
 only having-accomplished so-great a crime, but even  
 cogitato?  
 having-thought-of-it?

3. At, credo inconsultus et temerarius homo  
 But, I-suppose the inconsiderate and rash man.  
 non videbat hæc. Quis consideratio  
 'did not 'see these-things. (But) who more-considerate (than)  
 illo? quis tectior? quis prudentior? Quamquam  
 he? who more-circumspect? who more-prudent? Though  
 hoc loco puto, Deiotarum defendendum non  
 in-this place I-think, (that) Deiotarus is-to-be-defended not  
 tam ingenio et prudentiâ, quàm  
 so-much 'for (his) 'talents and prudence, as 'for (his)  
 fide, et religione vitæ. Probitas  
 good-faith, and religious-conscientiousness of-life. The-probity  
 hominis est nota tibi, C. Cæsar, mores noti,  
 of-the-man is known to-you, O C. Cæsar, (his) manners are-known  
 constantia nota. Cui porro,  
 (to you, his) constancy is-known (to you). To-whom moreover,  
 qui modò audivit nomen Romani populi non  
 who 'has only 'heard the name of-the-Roman people 'is not  
 integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides Deiotari  
 the honesty, weight-of-character, virtue, (or) good-faith of-Deiotarus  
 audita est? quod facinus igitur posset nec cadere  
 'known? which crime therefore could neither happen  
 in imprudentem hominem, propter metum præsentis  
 to an imprudent man, on-account-of the fear of-present  
 exitii, nec in facinorosum, nisi idem esset  
 destruction, nor to the-most-wicked-man, unless the-same were  
 amentissimus, id confingitis cogitatum esse ab  
 the most-foolish, this you-suppose to-have-been-thought-on by  
 homine minime stulto. At quam non  
 a man (not in) the least foolish. But this (you present) not



modò non credibiliter, sed quidem ne  
 only not in-a-credible-manner, but indeed not (even  
 suspiciose ! Quum inquit,  
 in-a-suspicious-manner ! When 'he, the accuser, 'says, (that)  
 venisses in castellum Luceium, et devertisses  
 you-had-come to the castle Luceium, and you-had-turned-aside  
 domum regis tui hospitis, erat quidam  
 to-the-palace of-the-king your host, there-was a certain  
 locus, in quo erant ea composita quibus rex  
 place, in which were those arranged-things which the king  
 constituerat munerare te. Volebat ducere  
 had-determined to-offer-as-presents to-you. He-desired to-conduct  
 te huc a balneo, priusquam  
 you thither (on coming) from the-bath, before  
 accumberes. Enim erant ibi armati  
 you-reclined-at-table. For there-were there armed-men  
 collocati in eo ipso loco, qui interficerent te.  
 stationed in that same place, who were-to-have-killed you  
 En crimen, en causa, cur fugitivus  
 Behold the accusation, behold the reason, why a runaway  
 servus accuset regem dominum. Ego mehercules,  
 slave should-accuse the king (his) master. I by-Hercules,  
 Cæsar, initio, quum ista causa delata est ad  
 O Cæsar, in-the-beginning, when this cause was-brought to  
 me, percussus sum hac suspicione, Phidippum,  
 me, was-struck with-this suspicion, (that) Phidippus,  
 medicum, regium servum, qui missus esset cum  
 the physician, (and) royal slave, who had-been-sent with  
 legatis, corruptum esse ab isto adolescente  
 the ambassadors, had-been-corrupted by this young-man.  
 Subornavit medicum indicem ;  
 He-has-suborned (thought I) the physician (as) an informer ; he-will  
 videlicet finget aliquod crimen veneni. Etsi longè  
 certainly 'invent some crime of-poison, Although far  
 a veritate, tamen res non  
 from the truth, yet the affair (of my conjecture) 'was not  
 multum abhorrebat a consuetudine  
 much 'opposed to, (or at variance) (with) the-usual-practices

criminandi. Quid ait medicus? Nihil de  
of-accusing. What says the physician? Nothing about

veneno. At primò id potuit fieri occultius  
poison. But firstly it could have-been-done more-secretly

in potione, in cibo; deinde etiam  
in drink, (or) in food; next also (it could have)

fit impunius, quod quum factum est, potest  
been-done more-impunibly, because when it-is-done, it-can

negari. Si interemisset te palam, convertisset  
be-denied. If he-had-killed you openly, he-would-have-brought

in se non solùm odia omnium gentium, sed  
on himself not only the hatred of-all nations, but

etiam arma; si veneno, ille quidem potuisset  
also (their) arms; if by-poison, he indeed could

nunquam celare numen Jovis  
never have-concealed (this deed from) the divinity of-Jupiter

hospitalis, fortasse celasset  
(the God of) hospitality, (though) perhaps he-might-have-concealed

homines. Igitur quod et potuit conari  
(it from) men. Therefore that-which 'he both 'might attempt

occultius, et efficere cautius, non credidit  
more-secretly, and execute more-cautiously, 'he-did not 'confide

id tibi, et callido medico, et, ut putabat, fideli  
it to-you, both a skilful physician, and, as he-thought, faithful

servo? noluit celare te de  
slave? (but) would-not conceal (from) you (his designs) respecting

armis, de ferro, de insidiis? At quàm  
arms, respecting swords, (and) respecting ambuscades? But how

festive crimen contexitur! Tua fortuna,  
finely 'is the accusation 'put-together! Your good-fortune,

inquit, eadem, quæ semper, servavit te;  
says-he, the same, which always (did, now also) saved you;

negaviæti, te velle tum inspicere.  
you-disavowed, (that) you wished then to examine (the presents).

7. Quid postea? an Deiotarus continuò  
What afterwards? whether did Deiotarus immediately

dimisit exercitum, re  
dismiss (his) army, the affair (of assassinating)

non illo tempore perfectâ? erat nullus alius  
not 'being at-that time 'completed? was-there no other

locus insidiandi? At dixeras, te rediturum  
place of-forming-ambuscades? But you-said, (that) you would-return

eodem quum cœnavisses; itaque fecisti.  
to-the-same-place when you-had-supped; therefore you-did (it)

Fuit magnum retinere armatos, ut  
Was-it (such) a great (thing) to-retain the armed-men, as

collocati fuerant, unam horam aut duas  
they-had-been-stationed, one hour or two (hours longer)

eodem loco? Quum fuisses,  
in-the-same place? When you-had-been, [When you had spent

comiter et jucunde in convivio, tum  
your time,] cheerfully and agreeably at the banquet, then

isti illuc, ut dixeras. In quo loco cognovisti  
you-went there, as you-had-said. In which place you-perceived

Deiotarum talem erga te, qualis rex Attalus  
Deiotarus (to be) the same towards you, as king Attalus

fuit in P. Africanum; cui, ut legimus scriptum,  
was towards P. Africanus; to-whom, as we-read (it) recorded,

misit magnificentissima dona, ex Asiâ usque ad  
he-sent most-magnificent presents, from Asia even to

Numantiam; quæ Africanus accepit, exercitu  
Numantis; which Africanus accepted, the army

inspectante, quod quum Deiotarus præsens  
looking on, which when Deiotarus present (and in person)

fecisset et regio animo et more, tu discessisti  
had-done both with-a-royal mind and manner, you departed

in cubiculum. Obsecro, Cæsar, repete  
to (your) sleeping-apartment. I-beseech (you), O Cæsar, recall

memoriam illius temporis, pone illum diem ante  
the remembrance of-those times, place that day before

oculos, recordare vultus hominum  
(your) eyes, remember the countenances of-the-men

intuentium te, atque admirantium. Num quæ  
looking-on you, and admiring (you). Now what

trepidatio? num qui tumultus? num quid  
the trepidation? now what the tumult? was-there any-thing (done)

nisi moderate, nisi quiete, nisi ex disciplinâ  
unless moderately, unless quietly, unless by the-regulation

gravissimi et sanctissimi hominis? Igitur  
of-a-most-dignified and most-venerable man? Therefore

quid causæ potest excogitari, cur voluerit  
what [of] reason can be-imagined, why did-he-wish

occidere te lotum, noluerit  
to-kill you after-having-bathed, (but) did-not-wish (to kill you)

cœnatum? Inquit distulit in posterum  
after-having-sapped? 'He, says (the accuser), 'put-it-off to the next

diem, ut quum ventum esset in castellum  
day, tha. when he-had-come to the castle (of)

Luceium, ibi perficeret cogitata.  
Luceius, (& at) there he-might-accomplish (his) designs. 'I-do

Non video causam mutandi loci; sed tamen  
not 'see the reason of-changing the place; but however

res acta est criminose. Quum,  
the affair was brought-forward in-a-criminating-manner. When,

inquit dixisses te velle vomere  
'he (the accuser) says (that) you-had-said, (that) you desired to-vomit

post cœnum, cœperunt ducere te in  
[take an emetic] after supper, they-began to-lead you to

balneum; enim ibi insidiæ erant.  
the bath-room; for there the ambushades (of soldiers) were (placed).

At illa eadem fortuna tua servavit te;  
But that same good-fortune (of) yours saved you; (for)

dixisti malle in cubiculo.  
you-said (that) you-preferred (doing it) in (your) sleeping apartment.

Dii perduint te, fugitive! es non  
'May the gods 'destroy you, O runaway (slave)! you-are not

modò ita nequam et improbus, sed etiam fatuus et  
only so wicked and corrupt, but also a fool and

amens; quid? ille posuerat aenea signa in  
senselessly (stupid); what? 'had he 'placed brazen statues in

insidiis, quæ possent non transferri e balneo  
ambush, which could not be-transferred from the bath-room

in cubiculum? Habes crimen  
in (his) sleeping-apartment? You-have (the whole) accusation

insidiarum; enim dixit nihil amplius; horum  
 of-ambuscades; for he-said nothing more; of-all-these-things  
 inquit eram conscius. Quid tum? erat ille ita  
 he-says I-was privy. What then? was he so  
 demens, ut dimitteret a se eum, quem  
 senseless, that he-should-send from himself him, (to) whom  
 haberet conscium tanti sceleris? Etiam  
 he-had (intrusted) the knowledge of-so-great a crime? Also (that)  
 mitteret Romam, ubi sciret et  
 he-should-send (him) to Rome, where he-might-know (that) both  
 suum inimicissimum nepotem esse, et C. Caesarem,  
 his inimical grandson was, and C. Caesar,  
 cui fecisset insidias? praesertim quum is  
 for whom he-had-placed ambuscades? especially when he  
 esset unus, qui posset judicare de  
 (Phidippus) was the only-one, who could give-testimony concerning  
 se absente? Et inquit, coniecit meos fratres in  
 himself absent? And says he, he-threw my brothers into  
 vincula, quod erant conscii.  
 prison, because (they also) were acquainted (with the affair)  
 Igitur quum vinciret eos, quos habebat cum se,  
 Therefore when he-bound those, whom he-had with himself,  
 mittebat te solutum Romam. qui scires eadem,  
 he-sent you unbound to-Rome, who know the-same-things  
 quae dicis illos scire?  
 which you-say (that) they know?

8. Reliqua pars accusationis fuit duplex;  
 The remaining part of-the-accusation was twofold;

una regem fuisse semper in speculis,  
 the one (that) the king was always in the-watch-towers, (as  
 quum animo esset alieno a te; altera  
 the look-out), as in-mind he-was estranged from you; the other  
 eum comparasse magnum exercitum contra  
 that) he had-assembled a great army against  
 te. De exercitu dicam breviter, ut cetera.  
 you. Concerning the army I-shall-speak briefly, as the rest.  
 Rex Deiotarus nunquam habuit eas copias, quibus  
 King Deiotarus never had these forces, with-which



posset inferre bellum Romano populo; sed  
 he-could wage war against the Roman people; but (only  
 quibus tueretur suos finos ab  
 those) by which he-might-protect his territories from  
 excursionibus et latrocinii, et mitteret auxilia  
 incursions and armed-robbery, and might-send auxiliaries  
 nostris imperatoribus. Atque quidem antea poterat  
 to-our commanders. And indeed formerly he-could  
 alere majores copias; nunc potest vix tueri  
 maintain greater forces; now he-can scarcely support  
 exiguas. At misit ad Cæcilium, nescio  
 very-small (forces). But he-sent to Cæcilius, I-know-not  
 quem; sed conjecit eos, quos misit in vincula,  
 whom; but he-threw those, whom he-had-sent into prison,  
 quod noluerunt ire. Non quæro quàm  
 because they-would-not go. 'I-do not 'inquire how  
 verisimile sit, regem aut habuisset non  
 likely it-may-be, (that) the king either had not  
 quos mitteret, aut eos, quos misisset,  
 those-whom he-might-send, or (that) those, whom he-had-sent,  
 non paruisse; aut qui fuissent non  
 (should) not have-obeyed; or those-who were not  
 audientes dicto, in tantâ re, eos  
 obedient, in so-great an-affair, (that) they (should)  
 potius victos quàm necatos. Sed tamen  
 rather be-put-in-prison than killed. But however  
 quum mittebat ad Cæcilium, utrum nesciebat  
 when he-was-sending to Cæcilius, whether he-did-not-know  
 illam causam victam esse, an putabat  
 (that) the cause (of Pompey) was-defeated, whether did-he-think  
 istum Cæcilium magnum hominem? quem profectò  
 this Cæcilius (to be) a great man? whom certainly,  
 is, qui optimè novit nostros homines, contemneret,  
 he, who well knew our men, would-have-despised,  
 vel quia nosset vel quia non nosset.  
 either because he-knew (him), or because 'he-did not 'know (him).  
 Addit etiam illud, non misisse optimos  
 He-adds also this, he-had not 'sent the best

equites; credo, Cæsar,  
cavalry (to Cæsar); I-believe, O Cæsar, (that they were)

nihil ad tuum equitatum; sed misit  
nothing (as compared) to your cavalry; but he-sent

delectos ex iis, quos habuit. At nescio  
the best of those, which he-had. But I-know-not (says he)

quem ex eo numero judicatum  
whom [what particular one] of that number (was) a condemned

servum. Non  
slave. [A person sentenced to slavery for his crimes.] 'I-do not

arbitror; non audiui; sed in eo, etiam si  
believe (it); 'I-have 'not 'heard-of (it); but in this, even if

accidisset, arbitrarer fuisse nullam culpam  
it-had-happened, I-may-believe (that) it-was no fault

regis.  
of-the-king.

9. Autem quomodo animo alieno a te?  
But how (was he) in-mind alienated from you?

Credo speravit  
(or in what respect was he inimical to you)? I-believe he-hoped, (that)

exitus Alexandræ fore difficiles tibi,  
the departure from Alexandria would-be difficult to-you,

propter naturam regionum, et fluminis. At  
on-account-of the nature of-the-place, and of-the-river. But

eo ipso tempore dedit pecuniam,  
at-that same time he-gave money (to your officers, and)

aluit exercitum; defuit in  
'supplied (your) army 'with the necessaries of life; he-was-wanting in

nullâ re ei, quem  
nothing, (as respects supplying, and assisting) him, whom

præfeceras Asiæ; fuit presto non  
you-had-placed-over Asia; he-was ready (in aiding you) not

solum ad hospitium, sed etiam ad periculum,  
only as-respects hospitality, but also as-respects danger,

atque ad aciem. Africanum bellum secutum est;  
and as-respects battle. The African war followed;

graves rumores de te; qui etiam  
(there were) distressing rumours concerning you; which also

excitaverunt illum furiosum Cæcilium. Que  
 excited that furious Cæcilius. In what

animo fuit tum rex? qui  
 disposition-of-mind was then the king? who

auctionatus sit que maluerit spoliare sese,  
 sold-his-goods-at-public-sale, and preferred to-deprive himself,

quàm non subministrare tibi pecuniam  
 than (that) 'he-might not 'supply you (with) money

At eo ipso tempore, inquit mittebat  
 But at-that same time, says (the accuser) he-sent (persons),

Nicæam que Ephesum, qui exciperent Africanos  
 to Nicæa and Ephesus, who might-catch-up the African

rumores, et celeriter referrent ad se.  
 rumours, and speedily report (them) to himself.

Itaque quum nunciatum esset ei, Domitium  
 Therefore when it-was-announced to-him, (that) Domitius

periisse naufragio, te circumsidere in  
 had-perished by-shipwreck, (and that) you were-besieged in

castello, dixit de Domitio Græcum versum  
 a fortress, he-recited concerning Domitius a Greek verse (of)

eâdem sententiâ, quâ nos hebemus Latinum,  
 the-same import, in-which we have (it in) Latin,

Pereant amici, dum unâ inimici intercidant.  
 Let friends perish, when together (with them our) enemies may fall

Quod ille, si esset inimicissimus tibi, tamen  
 Which he, if he-had-been the-most-inimical to-you, yet 'would

nunquam dixisset; enim ipse mansuetus,  
 never 'have-said; for he-himself is-mild, (but)

versus immanis. Autem qui poterat esse amicus  
 the verse ferocious. But how could-he be a friend

Domitio, qui esset inimicus tibi? Porro cur  
 to-Domitius, who was inimical to-you? Moreover why

esset inimicus tibi, a quo, quum vel  
 should-he-be inimical to-you, by whom, when even

potuisset interfici lege belli,  
 he-might-have-been put-to-death by-the-law of-war,

meminisset, et se et suum filium  
 he-might-have-remembered, (that) both himself and his son  
 constitutos esse regem? Quid deinde? quò  
 were constituted kings? What next? whither 't (this)  
 furcifer progreditur? Ait Deiotarum  
 scoundrel 'go? He-says (that) Deiotarus (was so)  
 elatum hac lætitiâ  
 elated by-this joy (of the news of your reverses, that)  
 obruisse se vino que saltavisse  
 he-overloaded himself with-wine [became drunk] and (that) he-danced  
 nudum, in convivio. Quæ crux potest afferre satis  
 naked at the banquet. What cross could bring sufficient  
 supplicii huic fugitivo? quisquam  
 punishment to-this runaway (slave)? 'did any-one  
 unquam vidit Deiotarum saltantem aut ebrium?  
 ever 'see Deiotarus dancing or drunk?  
 Omnes virtutes sunt in illo rege, quod abitor  
 All virtues are in that king, which I-think (that)  
 te, Cæsar, non ignorare, sed præcipue singularis  
 you, O Cæsar, are not ignorant-of, but especially a singular  
 et admiranda frugalitas; etsi  
 and to-be-admired frugality (and temperance); although  
 scio non solere regem laudari hoc  
 I-know (that) 'it-is not 'usual (that) a king be-praised by this  
 verbo. Hominem dici frugi habet non  
 word (frugality). (That) a man is-called frugal has not  
 multum laudis in rege; fortem, justum,  
 much of-praise in a king; (to be called) brave, just,  
 severum, gravem, magnanimum, largum, beneficum,  
 grave, dignified, magnanimous, profuse, beneficent,  
 liberalem, hæc sunt regiæ laudes; illa est privata.  
 liberal, these are royal praises; that other is a private  
 Quisque accipiat ut volet; ego  
 (virtue). Each-one may-receive (this) as he-pleases; I  
 tamen judico frugalitatem, id est, modetiam et  
 however esteem frugality, that is, moderation and  
 temperantiam, maximam virtutem. Hæc  
 temperance, (as) the greatest virtue. This-frugality

perspecta est, et cognita, ab ineunte ætate,  
 has-been-perceived, and known, from (his) early-commencing age,  
 quum a cunctâ Asiâ, tum a nostris magistratibus  
 as-well by all Asia, as by our magistrates  
 que legatibus, tum ab Romanis equitibus, qui  
 and ambassadors, as by the Roman knights, who  
 negotiati sunt in Asiâ. Ille quidem ascendit ad hoc  
 may-have-trafficked in Asia. He indeed attained to this  
 regium nomen multis gradibus officiorum erga  
 royal name by-many degrees of-services towards  
 nostram rempublicam; sed tamen quidquid  
 our republic; but however whatever  
 vacabat a bellis Romani populi jungebat cum  
 leisure-he-had from the wars of-the-Roman people he united with  
 nostris hominibus consuetudines, amicitias,  
 our people (in cultivating) intercourse, friendships,  
 res que rationes, ut non  
 (and) the affairs and relations (of business), so-that <sup>1</sup>he-was not  
 solùm haberetur nobilis tetrarches, sed etiam  
 only <sup>1</sup>held-to-be an illustrious tetrarch, but also  
 optimus paterfamilias, et diligentissimus  
 a most-excellent father-of-a-family, and a most-industrious  
 agricola et pecuarius. Is igitur, qui,  
 agriculturist and rearer-of-cattle. <sup>1</sup>Did-he then, who, (when)  
 adolescens, nondum præditus tantâ gloriâ,  
 a young-man, (and) not-yet endowed with-so-much renown,  
 fecerit nihil nisi severissime et gravissime,  
 had-done nothing unless most-seriously and gravely, (being held)  
 eâ existimatione, que eâ ætate saltavit?  
 in-that esteem, and at-that age <sup>1</sup>dance?  
 10. Debeas, Castor, potius imitari mores que  
 You-ought, O Castor, rather to-imitate the manners and  
 disciplinam tui avi, quàm maledicere  
 discipline of-your grandfather, than to-calamniate  
 optimo et clarissimo viro ore fugitivi.  
 a-most-excellent and illustrious man by-the-mouth of-a-fugitive  
 Quodd si habuisses avum saltatorem,  
 (slave). But-even if you-had-had a-grandfather a dancer,



neque eum virum, unde exempla pudoris  
 and-not that man, whence [in whom] examples of-honour  
 que pudicitiae peterentur, tamen hoc maledictum  
 and modesty might-be-sought, however this calumny  
 minime conveniret in illam aetatem. Quibus  
 did very-little 'agree with that age. With-which  
 studiis ille imbuerat se  
 studies (and pursuits) he had-imbued (and accustomed) himself  
 ab incunte aetate non saltandi, sed, ut uteretur  
 from early age not of-dancing, but, that he-might-use (his)  
 armis bene, ut equis  
 weapons well, (and) that (he might manage his) horses  
 optime; tamen cuncta ea defecerant  
 in-the-best-manner; however all these-things failed  
 illum jam, exactâ aetate. Itaque quum plures  
 him now, 'in (his) 'old age. Therefore when several  
 sustulerunt Deiotarum in equum, solebamus  
 had-placed Deiotarus on (his) horse, we-used  
 admirari quòd senex posset hærere in eo. Vero  
 co-admire that the-old-man could stick on it. But  
 hic adolescens, qui in Ciliciâ fuit meus  
 this young-man, (Castor), who in Cilicia was my  
 miles, in Græciâ commilito; quum equitaret, in  
 soldier, in Greece (my) fellow-soldier; when he-rode, in  
 illo nostro exercitu cum suis delectis equitibus,  
 that our army with his select cavalry,  
 quos pater miserat unâ cum eo ad Pompeium,  
 which (his) father had-sent together with him to Pompey,  
 quos concursus solebat facere! quàm jactare  
 what courses he-used to-make! how he-used-to-vaunt  
 se! quàm ostentare! quàm concedere  
 himself! how to-display (himself)! how to-concede  
 nemini, in illâ causâ studio et cupiditate!  
 to-no-one, in that cause (of Pompey) in-zeal and ardour!  
 Vero quum, exercitu amisso, ego, qui  
 But when, the army (of Pompey) being-lost, I, who (was)  
 semper auctor pacis, post proelium Pharsalicum,  
 always an advocate of-peace, after the battle (of) Pharsalia,

fui suasor non deponendorum armorum, sed  
 was the adviser not of-laying-down arms, but  
 abjiciendorum; potui non adducere  
 of-'throwing (them) 'away; (yet) I-could not bring  
 hunc ad meam auctoritatem,  
 him (Castor) to my authority, [Induce him to adopt my  
 quòd ipse et ardebat studio ipsius  
 opinion,] because he-himself both was-ardent in-zeal (for) that-same  
 belli, et arbitrabatur satisfaciendum  
 war, and he-thought, (that) he-ought-to-satisfy (the wishes of his)  
 patri. Felix ista domus, quæ non solum  
 father. Fortunate (is) this family (of yours), which not only  
 lepta sit impunitatem, sed etiam licentiam  
 has-obtained impunity, but also the license  
 accusandi; calamitosus Deiotarus, qui accusetur  
 of-accusing (others); unfortunate Deiotarus, who is-accused  
 ab eo, qui fuerit in iisdem castris, non  
 by him, who was in the same camp (with him), not  
 modò apud te, sed etiam a suis. Potestis  
 only before you, but also by his-own (relations). Could  
 non vos, Castor, esse contenti vestrâ secundâ  
 not you, O Castor, be content with-your good  
 fortunâ, sine calamitate  
 fortune, without (bringing) calamity (on your)  
 propinquorum?  
 relations?

11. Sane, sint inimicitie,

'There-may, without-doubt, 'be enmities (between you),

quæ debebant non esse; enim rex Deiotarus  
 which ought not to-have-been; for king Deiotarus

evocavit vestram abjectam et obscuram familiam,  
 called-forth your low and obscure family,

e tenebris in lucem. Quis antea audivit  
 from darkness into light. Who (ever) before heard (of)

tuum patrem, qui esset, quam  
 your father who he-might-be, than (till he heard)

cujus gener esset? Sed quamvis ingrâte et  
 whose son-in-law he-was? But although ungratefully and

impie repudiaretis nomen necessitudinis,  
 impiously you-may-have-repudiated the name 'of (your) 'relationship,

tamen poteratis genere inimicitias  
 however you-might-have conducted (your) animosities

more hominum, non insectari  
 after-the-manner of-men, not to-prosecute (him, your grandfather)

ficto crimine, non expetere vitam, non  
 with-false crime, not to seek (his) life, (and) not

arcessere capitis. Esto; quoque  
 to-arraign (him) for-a-capital-offence. Be-it-so; let also

hæc acerbitas, et magnitudo odii concedatur; ne  
 this bitterness, and greatness of-hatred be allowed; ought it

adeo, ut omnia jura vitæ, que communis  
 (to be allowed) so-far, that all rights of-life, and of-common

salutis, atque etiam humanitatis violentur?  
 safety, and also of-humanity are-to-be-violated?

Sollicitare servum verbis, corrumpere spe que  
 To-solicit a slave by-words, to-corrump (him) by-hopes and

promissis, abducere domum, armare contra  
 promises, to entice (him) from-home, to-arm him against

dominum, hoc est indicere nefarium bellum, non  
 (his) master, this is to-declare a wicked war, not

uni propinquo, sed omnibus familiis. Nam  
 against-one relation, but against-all families. For

ista corruptela servi, si non modò  
 this corruption of-slaves, if 'it-should not only

impunita fuerit, sed etiam approbata a tantâ  
 'be-left-unpunished, but also be-approved by so-great

auctoritate, nulli parietes, nullæ  
 an-authority (as this tribunal of yours), no walls, no

leges, nulla jura custodient nostram salutem. Enim  
 laws, no rights will-protect our safety. For

ubi id, quod est intus, atque nostrum,  
 when that, which is within (our houses), and (is) ours,

potest evolare impune,  
 'namely, our slaves,] (that) it-should-be-able to-come-forth impunibly,

que pugnare contra nos, servitus fit in  
 and fight against us, slavery 'is (then) 'made into

dominatu, et dominatus in servitute.

mastership, and mastership into slavery. [The slave becomes

O tempora, O mores!  
master, and the master slave.] O the times, O the manners!

Cn. Domitius, ille, quem nos, pueri, vidimus

Cn. Domitius, he, whom we, (when) boys, saw (as)

consulem censorem pontificem maximum,

consul censor (and) pontifex maximus, [chief pontiff]

quum tribunus plebis vocasset M. Scaurum

when (he was) tribune of-the-people he-had-called M. Scaurus

principem civitatis in iudicium populi, que

a-chief-man of-the-state on trial (before) the people, and

servus Scauri venisset ad eum clam domum, et

a slave of Scaurus had-come to him secretly, at-his-house, and

dixisset, se delaturum esse crimina in

said, (that) he would-bring accusations against (his)

dominum, iussit hominem prehendi, que

master, he-ordered the man to-be-apprehended, and

deduci ad Scaurum. Vide quid intersit;

to-be-taken-back to Scaurus. See what the-difference-is;

etsi inique comparo Castorem cum Domitio; sed

although unjustly I-compare Castor with Domitius; but

tamen ille remissit servum inimico, tu

however he sent-back the slave 'to (his) 'enemy, you

abduxisti ab avo; ille noluit

have-led-away (the slave) from (your) grandfather; he would-not

audire incorruptum, tu corrupisti; ille

listen (to the slave) unbribed, you bribed (one); he

repudiavit servum adiutorem contra dominum,

rejected a slave (as) assistant against (his) master,

tu etiam adhibuisti accusatorem.

you even made-use-of (one, as) an accuser (of his master).

An semel iste corruptus est a

But-was-it-only once (that) this (slave) was-corrupted by

vobis? Nonne quum productus esset,

you? Was-it-not-so (that) when he-had-been-brought-forth,

et quum fuisset cum te, refugit ad legatos?

and when he-was with you, he-fled-back to the ambassadors?

Nonne etiam venit ad hunc Cn. Domitium? Nonne  
Did-he-not also come to this Cn. Domitius? Did-he-not

confessus est audiente hoc Ser. Sulpicio,  
confess in-the-hearing (of) this Ser. Sulpicius,

clarissimo viro, qui tum casu coenabat apud  
a most-illustrious man, who then by-chance was-taking-supper with

Domitium, et hoc T. Torquato, optimo adolescente  
Domitius, and this T. Torquatus, a-most-excellent young-man

se corruptum esse a te, tuis  
(also present, that) he was-bribed by you, (and) by-your

promissis impulsus in fraudem.

promises impelled to dishonesty (and treachery).

12. Quæ est ista tam impotens, tam crudelis,

What is this so unrestrained, so cruel,

tam immoderata inhumanitas? idcirco  
so immoderate inhumanity (of yours)? was-it-for-this

venisti in hanc urbem, ut corrumperes jura,  
that-you-came to this city, that you-might-corrupt the laws,

et exempla hujus urbis,  
(institutions), and examples (and manners) of-this city,

que inquinare humanitatem nostræ  
and that-you-might pollute the humanity of-our

civitatis domesticâ immanitate? At  
city, 'by your 'domestic (Asiatic) ferocity? But

quàm acute crimina collecta! Blesamius,  
how ingeniously (your) charges have-been-collected! Blesamius,

inquit, (enim nomine ejus optimi viri,  
says he (the accuser), (for by-the-name of-this very-excellent man.

nec ignoti tibi, maledicebat tibi), solebat scribere  
nor-not unknown to-you, he-calumniated you), used to-write

ad regem, te esse in invidiâ,  
to the king, [Deiotarus,] (that) you were unpopular, (that you)

existimari tyrannum; statuâ positâ,  
were-considered a tyrant; (that your) statue being-placed,

inter reges, animos hominum  
among (the ancient) kings (of Rome), the minds of-men 'were

vehementer offensos; non solere tibi  
vehemently 'offended; (that) 'it-was not 'usual for you



plaudi. Nonne, Cæsar, intelligis,  
 to-be-applauded. 'Do-you not, O Cæsar, 'understand, (that)  
 hæc collecta esse ab istis ex urbanis  
 these-things were-collected by these-fellows from the town  
 sermunculis malevolorum? Blesamius  
 gossip of-evil-disposed-persons? 'would Blesamius  
 scribere. Cæsarem tyrannum? Enim  
 write (that) Cæsar (was) a tyrant? Perhaps  
 viderat capita multorum civium;  
 he-had-seen the heads of-many citizens (exposed); (or)  
 multos vexatos, verberatos, necatos, jusu Cæsar's;  
 many ill-treated, scourged, killed, by-the-order of-Cæsar;  
 multas domos afflictas et eversas; forum  
 (or) many houses ruined and destroyed; (or) the forum  
 refertum armatis militibus. Quæ  
 filled with-armed soldiers. The things-which 'we-have  
 semper sensimus in civili victoriâ, ea non  
 always experienced in civil victory, those 'we-did not  
 vidimus, te victore. C. Cæsar, es, inquam,  
 see, you (being) victor. 'You, O C. Cæsar, 'are, I-say,  
 solus in cujus victoriâ nemo ceciderit, nisi  
 the only-one by whose victory no-one fell, unless  
 armatus. Et quem nos  
 armed. [With arms in his hands.] And (him) whom we  
 liberi, nati in summâ libertate Romani  
 free-men, born in the highest (and fullest) liberty of-the-Roman  
 populi, ducimus non modò non tyrannum, sed etiam  
 people, consider not only no tyrant, but even  
 clementissimum in victoriâ, potest is videri tyrannus  
 most-clement in victory, can he appear a tyrant  
 Blesamio qui vivit in regno? Nam de statuâ,  
 to Blesamius who lives in a monarchy? For concerning the statue,  
 quis queritur, unâ præsertim, quum videat tam  
 who complains, about-one especially, when he-may see so  
 multas? Valde enim est invidendum ejus statuis,  
 many? Greatly indeed is it-to-be-envied 'to-his 'statues,  
 cujus tropæis non  
 are his statues to be envied,] whose trophies 'we-do not

invidimus. Nam si locus affert invidiam, nullus  
 envy. For if the place excites envy, no

est quidem clarior ad statuem  
 (place) is indeed more-conspicuous for a statue (than)

Rostris. Sed de plausu, quid  
 the Rostra. But concerning (public) applause, what

respondeam? qui nec unquam desideratus est a  
 shall I-reply? which 'has not ever 'been-desired by

te, et nonnunquam, hominibus obstupefactis,  
 you, and sometimes, men being-astonished

compressus est admiratione ipsâ,  
 (at your great deeds), it-has-been-repressed by-admiration itself,

et fortasse eò prætermisus, quia nihil vulgare  
 and perhaps therefore omitted, because nothing vulgar

potest videri dignum te.  
 could appear worthy of-you.

18. Arbitror nihil prætermisum a me, sed  
 I-think (that) nothing has-been-omitted by me, but

aliquid reservatum ad extremam partem causæ.  
 something is-reserved to the extreme part of-the-cause.

Autem id est aliquid, ut mea oratio plane  
 But this is something, that my speech 'will clearly

reconciliet te Deiotaro; enim non jam metuo,  
 'reconcile you to Deiotarus; for 'I-do not now 'fear,

ne tu succenseas illi; vereor illud, ne  
 lest you may-be-angry (with) him; (but) I-fear that, lest

susplicere, illum aliquid succensere  
 you-may suspect, (that) he 'is somewhat 'angry (with)

tibi, quod, crede mihi, Cæsar, abest longissime;  
 you, which, believe me, O Cæsar, is-distant most-far

enim quid retineat per te meminit,  
 (from him); for what he-retains through you he-remembers,

non quid amiserit; neque arbitratur, se  
 not what he-has-lost; neither does-he-think, (that) he

multatum a te; sed quum existimares,  
 has-been-punished by you; but as you-may-have-thought, (that)

multa tribuenda esse tibi multis, quominus  
 many-things had-to-be-given (by) you to-many-people, at-least-that

non recusavit sumeres ea a se, qui  
 'he-did not object that-you took these things from him, who  
 fuisset in alterâ parte. Etenim si  
 had-been in the other party (that of Pompey). For if

Antiochus ille magnus, rex Asiæ posteaquam  
 Antiochus the great, king of Asia after-that

devictus a L. Scipione jussus esset  
 he-was-conquered by L. Scipio (and) had-been-commanded, (only

regnare tenus Tauro, que  
 to-reign (over the country) as-far-as (Mount) Taurus, and

amisisset omnem hanc Asiam, quæ est nunc  
 had-lost all that (part of) Asia, which is now

nostra provincia, solitus est dicere, benigne  
 our province, was accustomed to-say, (that) 'it-was kindly

factum sibi a Romano populo, quod liberatus  
 'done to-him by the Roman people, because being-freed

nimis magnâ procuratione  
 'from-the too 'great care (of a large kingdom)

uteretur regni modicis terminis, potest  
 he-might-enjoy a kingdom (of) moderate extent, (so) can

Deiotarus multò facilius consolari se. Enim  
 Deiotarus much more-readily console himself. For

ille sustulerat multam furoris, hic  
 he [Antiochus] had-sustained the penalty of-fury, this-one [Deiotarus]

erroris. Tu tribuisti, Cæsar, omnia Deiotaro,  
 of (his) 'error. You granted, O-Cæsar, every-thing to Deiotarus,

quum concessisti, et ipsi et filio regium  
 when you-conceded, both to-him and (his) son the royal

nomen. Hoc nomine retento  
 name. [Title of king.] This title (of king) being-retained

atque servato, putat nullum beneficium  
 and preserved, he (considers, that) no benefi

Romani populi, nullum judicium  
 (or kindness) of-the-Roman people, no judgment (or decree)

senatûs de se imminutum; est animo  
 of-the-senate concerning him has-been-diminished; he is (in) mind

magno et erecto, nec unquam succumbet  
 great and courageous. nor 'will-he ever 'succumb

inimicis, ne quidem fortunæ. Arbitratur se  
to-enemies, nor even-indeed to-fortune. He-thinks (that) he

et peperisse multa ante factis, et  
'has both 'acquired much before by-his deeds, and (that he  
habere in animo etque virtute,  
has (it) in (his) mind and 'in (his) 'power (to do more),  
quæ possit nullo modo amittere. Enim quæ fortuna,  
which he-can by-no means lose. For what fortune,

aut quis casus, aut quæ tanta injuria  
or what accident, or what so-great injustice (or injury)

possit delere decreta omnium imperatorum  
could efface the decrees of-all (our) commanders

de Deiotaro? Enim ornatus est ab omnibus  
respecting Deiotarus? For he-has-been-honoured by all

iis, qui, posteaquam per ætatem, potuit esse in  
those, who, after-that by (his) age, he-could be in

castris, gesserunt bella, in Asiâ, Cappadociâ, Ponto,  
camps, carried-on wars, in Asia, Cappadocia, Pontus,

Ciliciâ, Syriâ. Vero judicia senatûs de  
Cilicia, (and) Syria. But-indeed the decrees of-the-senate concerning

illo, tam multa, que tam honorifica,  
him, (which are) so many, and so honourable, (and)

quæ consignata sunt publicis literis, que  
which are-consigned to-the-public records, and

monumentis Romani populi, quæ vetustas  
monuments of-the-Roman people, which 'will length-of-age

unquam obruet aut quæ oblivio tanta  
ever 'obliterate or which 'will oblivion so-much-as

delebit? Quid dicam de ejus virtute?  
deface? What shall-I-say concerning his valour?

de magnitudine animi, gravitate,  
concerning (his) greatness of-mind, gravity, (and)

constantia? quæ omnes docti atque sapientes  
constancy? which all learned and wise (men)

dixerunt esse summa, quidam etiam sola bona,  
have-said to-be the greatest, some also the only good

que his, virtutem contentam esse, non modò ad  
and by-these, that virtue was-sufficient, not only for

vivendum bene, sed etiam ad beate. Ille  
 living well, but also for (living) happily. He  
 reputans hæc, et cogitans dies que noctes,  
 reflecting on-these-things, and thinking days and nights (thereon),  
 non modò, non succenset tibi, (enim esset  
 not only, 'is-he not 'displeased (with) you, (for he-would-be  
 non solum ingratus, sed etiam amens), verum  
 not only ungrateful, but even mad), but-indeed  
 refert omnem acceptam tranquillitatem, et quietem  
 refers all the received tranquillity, and quiet  
 senectutis, tuæ clementiæ  
 'of (his) 'old-age, to-your clemency.

14. Quum quidem antea fuit quo  
 When indeed heretofore he-was in-this (state of)  
 animo, tum, non dubito, quin tuis literis,  
 mind, then, 'I-do not 'doubt, but-that by-your letter,  
 exemplum quarum legi, quas dedisti huic  
 a copy of-which I-have-read, (and) which you-gave to-this  
 Blesamo, Terracone, ad eum, etiam erexerit  
 Blesamus, at Terraco (in Spain), for him, 'he also 'cheered  
 se magis, que abstraxit ab omni  
 himself 'up the more, and withdrew (his mind) from all  
 sollicitudine. Enim jubes sperare bene,  
 anxiety. For you-tell (him in that letter) to-hope well,  
 et esse bono animo: quod scio, te  
 and to-be (of) good courage: which I-know, (that) you 'are  
 non solere scribere frustrà; enim memini  
 not 'accustomed to-write in-vain; for I-remember (that)  
 te scribere ad me fere iisdem verbis, que me,  
 you wrote to me nearly the same words, and (that) I,  
 tuis literis, jussum esse, non frustrà, sperare bene.  
 in-your letter was told, not in-vain, to-hope well.

Equidem laboro causâ regis Deiotari,  
 I indeed 'exert-myself in-the-cause of-king Deiotarus,  
 cum quo respublica conciliavit mihi amicitiam,  
 with whom the republic united me (in) friendship,  
 voluntas utriusque conjunxit hospitium,  
 will-and-inclination of-both joined (us in) the bond-of-hospitality,



consuetudo attulit familiaritatem, vero ejus magna  
intercourse brought-on familiarity, but his great

officia, et in me et in meum exercitum,  
real-and-good-offices, both to me and to my army,

effecerunt summam necessitudinem; sed quum  
produced the-greatest-degree (of) intimate-friendship; but when

laboro de illo, tum de multis amplissimis  
I-exert-myself for him, as-also for many illustrious

viris, quibus oportet, ignotum esse a  
men, to-whom it-is-proper, (that) pardon-should-be-extended by

te semel, nec tuum beneficium  
you once-for-all, nor is your favour (or pardon granted)

vocari in dubium, nec sempiternam  
to-be-called in doubt, nor (so that) perpetual

sollicitudinem hærere in animis hominum, nec  
anxiety should-fasten in the minds of-men, or

accidere ut quisquam eorum incipiat  
that-it-should-happen, that any-one of-those might-commence

timere te, qui semel liberati sint a te timore.  
to-fear you, who 'have once 'been-liberated by you from-fear.

Debeo non, C. Caesar, quod solet fieri, in  
I-ought not, O C. Caesar, which it-is-usual to-do, in

tantis periculis, tentare, ecquonam modo dicendo  
such-great dangers, to-attempt, if-by-any mode of speech

possim commovere tuam misericordiam. Est nihil  
I-could move your compassion. There-is-ne

opus; solet occurrere ipsa  
need (of this); (your compassion) is-used to-come-forth itself

supplicibus, et calamitosis, evocata oratione  
for-the-suppliants, and unfortunate-persons, called-forth by-the-oration

nullius. Propone tibi duos reges,  
of-no-one. Place-before yourself two kings, [Deiotarus and his son],

et contemplare in animo, quod potes non  
and contemplate in (your) mind, which you-can not

oculis. Profectò dabis misericordiae,  
with (your) 'eyes. 'You-will certainly grant to-compassion,

quod denegavisti iracundiae. Multa sunt  
that-which you-have-denied to-anger. Many are

monumenta tuæ clementiæ, sed maxime  
 the-monuments of-your clemency, but more-especially  
 incolumnitates eorum, quibus dedisti salutem.  
 the security of-those, to-whom you-have-given safety

Quæ si sunt gloriosa,  
 Which (monuments of clemency) if they-are glorious, (when conferred  
 in privatis, multò magis  
 on persons) in private-life, 'they-will-be much more  
 commemorabuntur in regibus. Regium nomen  
 'praised (when conferred) on kings. The royal name  
 fuit semper sanctum in hac civitate; regum  
 was always holy in this city; (but that) of kings (our)  
 sociorum et amicorum sanctissimum.  
 allies and friends most-holy.

15. Quod nomen hi reges timuerunt ne  
 Which title (of kings) these kings feared lest  
 amitterent, te victore; vero retentum,  
 they-might-lose, you being-victorious; but (which title) being-retained,  
 et confirmatum a te, confido etiam  
 and confirmed by you, I-trust (that they) also  
 tradituros esse suis posteris. Hi regii legati  
 will-transmit (it) to-their posterity. These royal ambassadors  
 tradunt tibi sua corpora, pro salute suorum  
 surrender to-you their persons, for the safety of-their  
 regum; Hieras et Blesamius, et  
 kings; (these ambassadors are) Hieras and Blesamius, and  
 Antigonus, jamdiu noti tibi que nobis omnibus,  
 Antigonus, long-since known to-you and us all,  
 que Dorylaus præditus eâdem fide et virtute,  
 and Dorylaus endowed with-the-same good-faith and virtue,  
 qui nuper missus est ad te legatus cum  
 who lately has-been-sent to you as-an-ambassador with  
 Hierâ, quum amicissimi  
 Hieras, when (as they were ambassadors) of-the-most-friendly  
 regum, tum etiam, ut spero, probati tibi. Exquire  
 of-kings, so also, as I-hope, approved-of by-you. Inquire  
 de Blesamio, numquid scripserit ad regem contra  
 of Blesamius. if-ever he-wrote to the king against

tuam dignitatem Hieras quidem suscipit  
 your dignity. Hieras indeed takes-on-himself  
 omnem causam, et illis criminibus  
 the entire cause (of the king), and (as respects) those charges  
 supponit se reum pro rege;  
 (against Deiotarus) he-substitutes himself as defendant for the king  
 implorat tuam memoriam, quâ vales  
 implores (the aid of) your memory, in-which you-excel  
 plurimum; negat se unquam decessisse pedem  
 so-much; he-denies (that) he ever stepped  
 a te, in tetrarchiâ Deiotari; dicit,  
 from you, (while) in the tetrarchy of-Deiotarus; he-says, (that)  
 se fuisse præsto tibi in primis finibus,  
 he was present to-you on the first frontier, [that he met you,  
 que prosecutum usque  
 on your first entrance into the country,] and followed-you even  
 ad ultimos;  
 to the last (frontiers); [and accompanied you, till you left the country;]  
 se fuisse cum te, quum exisses e balneo;  
 (that) he was with you, when you-came-out from the-bath;  
 quum cœnatus inspexisses illa  
 (also he was with you) when having-supped you inspected those  
 munera, quum in cubiculo recubuisses;  
 presents, (and) when in your-chamber, you-had-lain-down;  
 que postridie se præbuisse eandem assiduitatem  
 and (that) the-next-day he had-shown the same attention  
 tibi. Quamobrem, si quid eorum quæ  
 to-you. Wherefore, if any of-those (charges) which  
 objecta sunt, cogitatum sit,  
 have-been-brought-against (Deiotarus) may-have-been-thought of,  
 non recusat, quin iudices id suum  
 'he-does not 'refuse, but-that you-judge it (to be) his  
 facinus. Quocirca, C. Cæsar, velim existimes,  
 crime. Therefore, O C. Cæsar, I-wish you-may-consider, (that)  
 hodierno die, tuam sententiam importaturam esse  
 to-day, your sentence will-bring-on (these)  
 regibus aut miserrimam pestem, cum summo  
 kings either the-most-miserable ruin, with the greatest

dedecore, aut incolumem famam, cum salute,  
 disgrace, or uninjured fame, with safety,

quorum alterum est crudelitatis illorum  
 of-which the-first-sentence is (the part) of-the-cruelty of-those

optari, alterum tue  
 (accusers of Deiotarus) to-wish-for, the other (is the part) of-you

clementiæ conservare.  
 clemency to preserve.

ORATIO  
*THE ORATION*  
 M. TULLII CICERONIS,  
*OF M. TULLIUS CICERO.*

PRO  
 FOR  
 T. ANNIO MILONE.  
*T. ANNIUS MILO.*



**1. ERSI** vereor, **judices, ne sit**  
 Although I am apprehensive, O judges, lest it may (be considered)  
**turpe,** incipientem dicere pro fortissimo  
 shameful, (in one) beginning to-speak for a very-brave  
**viro,** timere, que minimè decet, quum  
 man, to-show-fear, and 'it-is in-no-way 'becoming, when  
**T. Annius** ipse magis perturbatur salute  
 T. Annius himself 'is more 'disturbed for-the-safety  
**reipublicæ,** quàm de suâ, me posse non  
 of-the-republic, than for his-own, (that) I can not  
**affere ad ejus causam parem magnitudinem**  
 bring to his cause equal greatness (and command)  
**animi,** tamen hæc nova forma novi **judiciû**  
 of-mind, however this new form of-an-unusual (kind) of-trial  
**terret** oculos, qui, quocunque **incidunt**  
 terrifies (my) eyes, which, wherever they-fall  
**requirunt** consuetudinem fori, et pristinum  
 require [miss] the usual-customs of-the-forum, and the ancient  
**morem** **judiciorum.** Enim vester consessus  
 form (and usage, of-tribunals. For your session, [seats,]



non cinctus est coronâ, ut  
 (O judges), 'is not 'surrounded by-a-circle (of citizens), as  
 solebat; non stipati sumus usitatâ  
 it-used-to-be; (and) 'we-are not 'densely-environed by-the-usual  
 frequentiâ; nec illa præsidia  
 crowd (of hearers); nor those guards (of soldiers)  
 quæ cernitis pro omnibus templis, etsi  
 which you-see before all the temples, although  
 collocata sunt contra vim, tamen  
 they-are-stationed-there against violence, yet  
 non afferunt aliquid oratori, ut  
 'they-do not 'bring any (encouragement) to-the-speaker, as  
 in foro et in iudicio; quamquam  
 (the people) in the forum and in the courts-of-justice; although  
 septi sumus salutaribus et necessariis præsidiis,  
 we-are-surrounded by-salutary and necessary guards,  
 tamen quidem possumus ne non timere sine aliquo  
 yet indeed we-can not fear without some  
 timore. Quæ si  
 fear. [We cannot divest ourselves of all fear.] Which (things) if  
 putarem opposita Miloni, cederem  
 I-thought (that) they-were-opposed to-Milo, I-would-give-way  
 temporî, iudices, nec existimarem esse locum  
 to-the-times, O judges, nor would-I-deem (that) there-was place  
 orationi inter tantam vim armorum. Sed  
 for-an-oration among so-great a force of-arms. But  
 consilium Cn. Pompeii sapientissimi et iustissimi  
 the prudent-counsels of-Cn. Pompey a most-wise and just  
 viri recreat et reficit me, qui profectò nec  
 man encourages and reassures me, who certainly 'would not  
 putaret suæ iustitiæ, quem  
 'think (it a part) of-his justice, (that the persons) whom  
 tradidisset reum sententiis iudicum,  
 he-had-given-over as-a-defendant (to receive) the sentence of-the-judges,  
 dedere eundem telis  
 (that) they had-surrendered the same-person to-the-weapons  
 militum; nec sapientiæ, armare  
 of-the-soldiers; nor (a part) 'of (his) 'wisdom, to-arm

publicâ auctoritate, temeritatem concitatæ multitudinis.  
with-public authority, the rashness of-an-excited multitude.

Quamobrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes  
Wherefore those arms, (those) centurions, (those) cohorts

non denuntiant periculum, sed præsidium nobis,  
do not 'announce danger, but protection to-us,

neque solùm hortantur ut simus  
nor 'do-they alone 'exhort (us) that we-should-be

quieto, sed etiam ut magno  
in-a-calm (state of mind), but also that (we should be) in-a-great

animo; neque modò pollicentur  
state of) mind [courageous]; nor 'do-they only 'promise

auxilium meæ defensionis, verùm etiam silentium.  
assistance to-my defence, but also silence.

Verò reliqua multitudo, quæ quidem est  
But the remaining multitude, which indeed is (composed)

civium, est tota nostra;  
of-citizens, is altogether ours, (and favourable to our cause);

neque quisquam eorum, quos videtis intuentes  
neither any-one of-those, whom you-see looking-on

undique, unde aliqua pars fori potest adspici,  
from-every-place, whence any part of-the-forum can be-seen,

et expectantes exitum hujus judicii, quum non  
and waiting the issue of-this trial, when 'he-does not

favet virtuti Milonis, tum putat  
(only as much) 'favour the virtue of-Milo, as-that he-thinks

decertari hodierno die, de se, de suis  
it-to-be-contended to-day, concerning himself, concerning his

liberis, de patriâ, de  
children, concerning (his) country, (and) concerning (his own)

fortunis.

fortunes.

2. Unum genus est adversum, quæ infestum nobis  
One class is adverse, and hostile to-us

eorum, quos furor P. Clodii pavit rapinis, et  
of-those-people, whom the fury of-P. Clodius has-fed by-rapine, and

incendiis et omnibus publicis exitiis; qui etiam  
conflagrations and by all public disasters; who even

nisternâ concione incitati sunt, ut præirent  
 by-yesterday's harangue were-incited, that they-should-dictate  
 vobis voce, quid judicaretis. Clamor  
 to-you 'by (their) 'clamour, what you-were-to-decide. The shouts  
 quorum, si forte fuerit qui, deberit admorere  
 of-these-men, if perchance there-should-be any, ought to-admonish  
 vos, ut retineatis eum civem,  
 you, that you-should-retain him a citizen, (In the country, by a  
 qui semper neglexit illud genus  
 sentence of acquittal), who always neglected that class  
 hominum, que maximos clamores, pro vestra  
 of-men, and (their) very-great outcries, for your  
 salute. Quamobrem adeste animis,  
 safety. Wherefore be-present in mind [be of good courage],  
 judices, et deponite timorem, si habetis quem.  
 O judges, and lay-aside (all) fear, if you-have any.  
 Nam si unquam potestas fuit vobis  
 For if ever the power was to-you [if you ever had the  
 judicandi de bonis et fortibus  
 power] of-judicially-deciding concerning good and brave  
 viria, si unquam de civibus meritis bene,  
 men, if ever concerning citizens (who have) deserved well  
 si denique unquam locus datus est  
 (of their country), if in-fine ever an opportunity was-given  
 delectis viris amplissimorum ordinum, ut  
 to-chosen men of-the-most-illustrious orders (in the state), that  
 declararent re et sententiis,  
 they-declare (and show) by-the-affair-itself, and 'by (their) 'votes-as-judges,  
 sua studia erga fortes et bonos cives, quæ  
 their good-will towards brave and good citizens, which  
 sæpe significassent vultu et  
 they-have often 'signified 'by (their) 'countenance and  
 verbis, vos profectò hoc tempore habetis omnem  
 words, you certainly at-this time have all  
 eam potestatem, ut statuatis, utrum nos, qui  
 that power, that you-may-determine, whether we, who  
 semper dediti fuimus vestrae auctoritati,  
 'have always 'been-devoted to-your authority 'are

miseri, semper lugeamus, an, diu  
miserable-men, always 'to-mourn, or, 'having for-a-long-time

vexati a perditissimis civibus, aliquando  
'been-harassed by most-abandoned citizens, at-length

recreemur per vos, ac per  
we-may-be-restored-to (our former state of safety) by you, and by

vestram fidem, virtutem que sapientiam. Enim  
your good-faith, virtue and wisdom. For

quid, judices, laboriosius, quid magis sollicitum,  
what (condition), O judges, more-harassing, what more vexatious,

magis exercitum, potest dici aut fingi, nobis  
more trying, can be-said or imagined, for-us

duobus, qui adducti ad rempublicam,  
two, who induced (to devote ourselves) to the republic,

spe amplissimorum præmiorum, possumus non  
by-the-hope of-most-honourable rewards, can not

carere metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum?  
be-free-from the fear of-the-most-cruel punishments?

Equidem semper putavi tempestates et procellas,  
Indeed 'I always 'thought (that) the storms and tempests,

duntaxat in illis fluctibus concionum  
at-least in those agitations (and tumults) of-public-assemblies

subeundas esse Miloni, quia semper senserat  
were-to-be-encountered (by) Milo, because 'he always 'was-in-favour

pro bonis contra improbos; vero in iudicio, et in  
of the good against the bad; but in a court, and in

eo consilio, in quo amplissimi viri ex  
such a council, in which the-most-honourable men (selected) from

cunctis ordinibus judicarent,  
all the orders (of men in the state, sit as judges and) decide,

nunquam existimavi, inimicos Milonis  
I have never 'thought, (that) the enemies of-Milo

habitueros esse ullam spem ad exstinguendam, non  
would-have any hope to destroy, not

modò salutem, sed etiam infringendam  
only (his) safety, but even (to) weaken (or diminish

gloriam, per tales viros Quamquam in hac  
his) glory, by such men Although in this

causâ, judices, non abutemur tribunatu T.  
 cause, O judges, 'we-will not 'misuse the tribuneship of-T.

Annii, que omnibus rebus gestis pro salute  
 Annius, and all (his) deeds performed for the safety

reipublicæ, ad defensionem hujus  
 of-the-republic, for (the purpose of) defence (in) this

criminis. Nisi videritis oculis,  
 accusation. Unless you-may-have-seen 'with (your own) 'eyes, (that)

insidias factas a Clodio Miloni, nec depre-  
 ambushades were-laid by Clodius (against) Milo, nor shall-we-

caturi sumus, ut condonetis nobis hoc crimen,  
 entreat (you), that you-pardon us this crime,

propter multa præclara merita in rempublicam;  
 on-account-of (our) many eminent services for the republic;

nec postulaturi, ut, si mors P. Clodii fuerit  
 nor shall-we-request (of you), that, if the death of-P, Clodius was

vestra salus, idcirco assignetis eam virtuti  
 your safety, that-therefore you-should-attribute it to-the-courage

Milonis, potius quàm felicitati Romani populi.  
 of Milo, rather than to-the-good-fortune of-the-Roman people.

Sin illius insidiæ fuerint clariores  
 But-if his [Clodius's] ambushades will-be (made) clearer (than)

hac luce, tum denique obsecrabo que obtestabor  
 this light (of day), then in-fine I-entreat and supplicate

vos, judices, si amisimus cetera, ut saltem  
 you, O judges, (that) if we-have-lost (all) the rest, that at-least

hoc relinquatur nobis. ut liceat defendere  
 this may-be-left to-us. that it-may-be-allowed (us) to-defend

impune vitam ab audaciâ que telis  
 with-impunity (our) life from the audacity and weapons

inimicorum.  
 of-our-enemies.

3. Sed antequam venio ad eam orationem,  
 But before I-come to that (part of) the speech,

quæ est propria vestræ quæstionis,  
 which is properly your inquiry. (and which especially

ea videntur, refutanda esse,  
 belongs to this trial), those-things seem (necessary) to-be-refuted,



quæ sæpe jactata sunt et in senatu ab  
 which 'have often 'been-brought-forth both in the senate by (our)  
 inimicis, et in concione ab improbis, et  
 enemies, and in the assembly-of-the-people by bad-men, and  
 paulo ante ab accusatoribus, ut, omni  
 a little before (this) by (our) accusers, so-that, all  
 errore sublato, possitis plane videre rem quæ  
 error being-removed, you-may plainly see the affair which  
 veniat in judicium. Negant esse fas ei intueri  
 may-come on trial. They-deny that-it-is right for-him to-see  
 lucem, qui fateatur hominem occisum esse a  
 the light, who confesses (that) a man has-been-killed by  
 se. In qua urbe tandem stultissimi homines  
 him. In what city then 'do most-foolish men  
 disputant hoc? Nempe in eâ, quæ primum  
 'dispute about-this? Namely in that-city, which first  
 vidit judicium de capite M. Horatii,  
 saw a trial for life (namely that) of-M. Horatius,  
 fortissimi viri, qui, civitate nondum liberâ,  
 a most-brave man, who, the city 'being not-yet 'free,  
 tamen liberatus est comitiis  
 (but under the kingly government,) yet was-acquitted by-the-comitia  
 Romani populi, quum fateretur sororem  
 of-the-Roman people, although he-confessed (that his) sister  
 interfectam esse suâ manu. An est quisquam,  
 was-killed by-his-own hand. Or is-there any-one,  
 qui ignoret hoc, quum quæeratur de  
 who may-be-ignorant of-this, when inquiry-is-made concerning  
 homine occiso, aut solere negari  
 a man, (who has been) slain, either it-is-usual for-it-to-be-denied  
 omninò factum esse, aut defendi  
 altogether (that) it-has-been-done, or for-it-to-be-defended (because)  
 factum esse recte et jure? Nisi vero existimatis  
 it-was-done rightly and lawfully? Unless indeed you-think  
 P. Africanum fuisse dementem, qui, quum  
 (that) P. Africanus was out-of-his-mind, who, when  
 interrogaretur in concione, a C. Carbone,  
 he-was-asked in an assembly-of-the-people, by C Carbo,

tribuno plebis seditiose, quid sentiret  
 a tribune of-the-people in-a-factionous-manner, what he-thought

de morte T. Gracchi, responderit videri  
 of the death of-T. Gracchus, replied (that) he-seemed-to be

jure cæsum. Enim neque posset ille  
 rightly killed. For neither could that (distinguished

Servilius Ahala aut P. Nasica, aut L. Opinius, aut  
 Servilius Ahala or P. Nasica, or L. Opinius, or

C. Marius, aut, me consule, senatus  
 C. Marius, or, I (being) consul, the senate (itself)

haberi non nefarius, si esset nefas  
 be-considered (as) not wicked, if it-was unlawful (that)

sceleratos cives interfici. Itaque, judices, non  
 criminal citizens be-put-to-death. Therefore, O judges, not

sine causâ doctissimi homines prodiderunt memoriæ  
 without reason most learned men have-transmitted to-memory

hoc, etiam fictis fabulis, eum, qui necavisset  
 this, even in-fabulous stories, (that) he, who had-killed

matrem causâ ulciscendi patris,  
 (his) mother for-the-purpose of-avenging (his) father's (death),

sententiis hominum variatis, libe  
 the opinions of-men (who were his judges) being-divided, he-was-

ratum, non solùm divinâ sententiâ, sed etiam  
 acquitted, not only by-divine opinion, but even

sapientissimæ deæ. Quod si  
 (by that) of-the-most-wise goddess [Minerva]. Because if (the laws of)

duodecim tabulæ voluerunt nocturnum furem  
 the twelve tables allowed a nocturnal robber

interfici impune quoquo modo, autem  
 to-be-killed with-impunity in-any manner, but (one who robbed)

diurnum, si defenderet se telo; quis  
 in-the-day-time, (only) if he-defended himself with-a-weapon; who

est, qui quoquo modo quis interfectum sit,  
 is-there, who in-whatever manner any-one may-be-killed,

putet puniendum, quum videat  
 may-consider that-he-ought-to-be-punished, when he-sees (that)

aliquando gladium porrigi nobis ab legibus ipsis  
 sometimes a sword is-presented to-us by the laws themselves  
 ad occidendum hominem  
 to kill a man.

4. Atqui si est ullum tempus  
 But if there-is any time (or occasion, that

hominis necandi jure, quæ sunt multa,  
 a man might-be-killed with-right, (and) which are many,  
 certe illud est non modò justum, verùm etiam  
 certainly that is not only just, but also

necessarium, quum illata vis defenditur vi.  
 necessary, when offered violence is-resisted by-violence

Quum militaris tribunus, in exercitu C. Marii,  
 When a military tribune, in the army of-C. Marius, (and  
 propinquus ejus imperatoris, eriperet pudicitiam  
 a relation of-that commander, attempted violence

militi, interfectus est ab eo  
 (on the person of) a soldier, he-was-killed by him (the soldier)

cui afferebat vim. Enim probus adolescens  
 to-whom he-offered violence. For the virtuous youth

maluit facere periculose, quàm perpeti turpiter.  
 chose-rather to-act dangerously, than suffer shamefully

Atque ille summus  
 [he preferred incurring danger, to dishonour]. And that illustrious

vir liberavit hunc, solutum scelere, periculo.  
 man (Marius) delivered him, absolved from-crime, from-danger.

Vero quæ injusta nex potest inferri insidiatori,  
 But what unjust death can be-inflicted on-the-waylayer

et latroni? Quid nostri comitatus,  
 and robber? What 'do our escorts (on a journey),

quid gladii volunt? quos certe non  
 what (do our) swords 'mean? which certainly 'it-would not

liceret habere, si nullo pacto liceret  
 'be-allowed (us) to-have, if 'it-were in-no manner 'allowed

uti. Igitur, judices, hæc est non scripta  
 to-use (them). Therefore, O judges, this is not a written

lex, sed nata, quam non didicimus,  
 law, but a natural-law, which 'we-have not 'learned.

accepimus, legimus, verum arripimus,  
received (by tradition, or) read, but have-taken,

hausimus, expressimus ex naturâ ipsâ, ad  
imbibed (and) extracted (it) from nature herself, (in)

quam non docti, sed facti,  
which we-were not instructed, but (for which) we-were-made, we-are

non instituti sumus, sed imbuti ut si  
not taught (it), but are-imbued (with it), so-that, if

nostra vita incidisset in aliquas insidias, si in  
our life should-be-endangered (by) any snares, if (by)

vim, et in tela aut latronum aut  
violence, and (by) the weapons either of-robbers or

inimicorum, omnis ratio salutis expediendæ esset  
of-enemies, every means of-saving-life would-be

honesta. Enim leges silent  
honourable. For the laws are silent, (and inoperative, in contests)

inter arma, nec jubent se  
with arms (in hand), nor (do the laws) command (that) they

exspectari, quum ei qui velit exspectare  
be-waited-for, when on-him who might-wish to-wait (for the en-

injusta poena luenda sit,  
forcement of the laws) an unjust punishment might-be-inflicted,

ante quàm justa repetenda.  
before that a just-one might-be-demanded, (or obtained by him). [A

great calamity, or even death, might be inflicted, before the law could be

Etsi lex ipsa persapienter, et quodam-  
enforced.] Although the law itself very-wisely, and in-some-

modo tacite dat potestatem defendendi, quæ  
measure tacitly gives the power of-defending, which (does)

non hominem occidi, sed vetat esse  
not (allow, that) a man be-killed, but forbids (any one) to-be

cum telo causâ occidendi nominis;  
with a weapon [to have a weapon] for-the-purpose of-killing a man;

ut, quum causa, non telum  
so-that, as the cause (of carrying a weapon), not the weapon (itself)

quæretur, qui esset usus telo, causâ  
is-inquired-into, he-who made-use of-a-weapon, for-the-purpose

defendendi sui, judicaretur habuisse telum  
 of-defending himself, would-be-judged to-have-had the weapon  
 non causâ occidendi hominis. Quapropter,  
 not for-the-purpose of-killing a man. Wherefore,  
 judices, hoc maneat in causâ;  
 O judges, 'let this 'remain in the cause [let this be an established  
 enim non dubito, quin  
 principle in this cause]; for 'I-do not 'doubt, tha  
 probaturus sim meam defensionem vobis,  
 I-shall-prove (and make good) my defence before-you,  
 si memineritis id, quod potestis non oblivisci  
 if you-remember that, which you-can not have-forgotten  
 insidiatorem posse interfici  
 (that) a waylayer (and plotter against one's life) may be-slain  
 jure.  
 lawfully.

5. Sequitur illud, quod sæpissime  
 There-follows that, [the next thing is], which 'is very-often  
 dicitur a(b) inimicis Milonis, senatum judicasse  
 'asserted by the enemies of-Milo, (that) the senate had-judged  
 cædem in qua P. Clodius occisus est,  
 (that) the slaughter in which P. Clodius was-killed,  
 factam esse contra rempublicam. Vero illam  
 was-done against the republic. But that (act of Milo)  
 senatus comprobavit, non solùm suis sententis, sed  
 the senate approved, not only by-their votes, but  
 etiam studiis. Enim quoties illa  
 also 'by (their) 'zeal (in his favour). For how-often 'has that  
 causa acta est a nobis in senatu? quibus  
 cause been-pleaded by us in the senate? with-what  
 assensionibus universi ordinis? quam  
 assenting-approbations of-the-whole order (of the senate)? (and) tha  
 nec tacitis, nec occultis? Enim quando frequen-  
 neither silent, nor concealed? For when in-a-very-  
 tissimo senatu quatuor, aut summùm quinque,  
 full senate (only) four, or at-most five,  
 inventi sunt, qui non probarent causam Milonis.  
 were-found, who 'did not 'approve the cause of-Milo.



**Illæ intermortuæ conciones hujus ambusti tribunus**  
 Those lifeless harangues of-that scorched tribune

**plebis declarant, quibus meam potentiam**  
 of-the-people show (that), in-which (harangues) my power

**quotidie invidiose criminabatur, quum**  
 (and influence) 'is daily invidiously 'found-fault-with, when

**diceret, senatum decernere non quod sentiret,**  
 he-says, (that) the senate decrees not what it-might-think

**sed quod ego vellem. Quæ quidem si**  
 but what I might-wish. Which indeed if

**appellanda est potentia potius, quam mediocris**  
 it-is-to-be-called power rather than a moderate

**auctoritas, aut propter magna merita**  
 authority (or influence), either on-account-of great services (done)

**in rempublicam in bonis causis, aut nonnulla gratia**  
 for the republic in good causes, or some favour

**apud bonos, propter hos meos officiosas**  
 (and credit) among the good, on-account-of these my serviceable

**labores; sane appelletur ita,**  
 (and obliging) labours; well-then let-it-be-called so,

**dummodo nos utamur eâ pro salute bonorum**  
 provided we use it for the-safety of-the-good

**contra amentiam perditorum. Vero etsi est non**  
 against the madness of-the-wicked. But although it-is not

**iniqua, tamen senatus nunquam putavit**  
 an unjust (investigation), yet the senate never thought

**hanc quæstionem constituendam. Enim**  
 (that) that investigation ought-to-be-instituted. For

**erant leges, erant quæstiones, vel de**  
 there-were laws, there-were inquisitions, either concerning

**cæde, vel de vi; nec mors P. Clodii**  
 murder. or concerning violence; nor 'did the death of-P. Clodius

**afferebat tantum mœrorem ac luctum senatui, ut**  
 'bring such-great grief and mourning to-the-senate, that

**nova quæstio constitueretur.**  
 a new (and particular) inquisition should-be-instituted (by them).

**Enim potestas decernendi iudicium de illo**  
 For (when) the power of-ordering a trial concerning that

incesto stupro cujus erepta esset senatui,  
 sacrilegious crime of-his [Clodius] was-taken (from) the-senate;

quis potest credere, senatum putasse  
 who can believe, (that) the-senate had-thought-of

constituendum novum judicium, de ejus  
 constituting a new (and special) trial, concerning his

interitu? Cur igitur senatus decrevit,  
 death? Why therefore 'has the senate 'decreed, (that)

incendium curiæ, oppugnationem sedium  
 the burning of-the-senate-house, the attack on-the-house

M. Lepidi, hanc ipsam cædem factum esse contra  
 of-M. Lepidus, (and) this same murder was-done against

republicam? Quia nulla vis, in liberâ civitate,  
 the republic? Because no violence, in a free state,

unquam suscepta est inter cives, non contra  
 'has ever 'occurred among citizens, (that is) not against

republicam. Enim illa defensio contra vim est  
 the republic. For that defence against violence is

non unquam optanda, sed nonnunquam est  
 not ever to-be-desired, but sometimes it-is

necessaria. Nisi vero aut ille dies, quo  
 necessary. Unless indeed either that day, on-which

T. Gracchus cæsus est, aut ille quo Caius, aut  
 T. Gracchus was slain, or that on-which Caius was, or

arma Saturnini, etiamsi oppressa sunt e  
 the arms of-Saturninus, although repressed on-the-part-of

republica, tamen non vulnerarunt  
 the republic, yet 'they-have not wounded (or injured)

republicam.  
 the republic.

6. Itaque ego ipse decrevi, quum constaret  
 Therefore I myself voted, when it-was-evident

cædem factam esse in Appiâ, non  
 (that) the murder was-committed on the Appian (way), (that) not

eum, qui defendisset se, fecisse contra  
 he, who had-defended himself, acted against

republicam; sed, quum inessent insidiæ et  
 the republic: but, as there were snares and

**vis** in re, reservavi crimen judicio, **notavi**  
 violence in the-affair, I-reserved the guilt for-trial, I-admitted

**rem.** Quod si licuisset, per illum furiosum  
 the deed. Because if it-had-been-allowed, by that furious

**tribunum,** senatui perficere quod sentiebat,  
 tribune, to-the-senate to-perfect what it-thought,

**haberemus** nullam novam quæstionem. Enim  
 we should-have-had no new inquisition. For

**decernebat,** ut quæreretur veteribus  
 it-decreed, that (the affair) should-be-investigated according-to-old

**legibus,** tantummodo extra  
 (and established) laws, only out-of (the usual)

**ordinem.** Sententia divisa est, nescio  
 order. The proposition (or resolve) was-divided, I-know-not

**quo** postulante; enim est nihil  
 by-whom (it was) moved (to do so); for it-is not

**necesse** me proferre flagitia omnium. Sic  
 necessary for-me to-bring-forward the infamy of-all. So

**reliqua** auctoritas senatûs  
 the remaining authority of-the-senate (to act on the entire proposition)

**sublata est,** emptâ intercessionem.  
 was-taken-away, by-the-bought veto (of a tribune). (Oh)-

**At enim** Cn. Pompeius suâ rogatione  
 but indeed Cn. Pompey by-his bringing-a-law before-the-people

**judicavit,** et de re, et de causâ; enim  
 pronounced-judgment, both concerning the fact, and the cause; for

**tulit** de cæde, quæ facta esset  
 he-brought-forward (a law) concerning the murder, which was-committed

**in Appiâ viâ,** in qua P. Clodius occisus est.  
 on the Appian way, in which P. Clodius was-slain.

**Quid** ergo tulit? Nempè ut  
 What therefore did-he-bring-forward? Namely that

**quæreretur.** Porro quid quærendum est?  
 it-should-be-investigated. But what is-to-be-inquired-into?

**Ne** factum sit? At constat. A quo? At  
 Whether was-it-done? But (that) is-evident. By whom? But that

**paret.** Igitur vidit etiam in confessione  
 is-manifest. 'He therefore saw even in the confession

facti, tamen defensionem juris posse  
of-the-fact, (that) yet a defence of-the-right could

suscipi. Quod nisi videsset,  
be-maintained. Because unless he [Pompey] might-have-perceived,

eum, qui fateretur, posse absolvi, quum  
(that) he, who confessed, might be-acquitted, when

videret nos fateri, neque unquam jussisset  
he-saw (that) we confessed, neither would-he ever have-ordered

quæri, nec dedisset vobis hanc tam  
(the affair) to-be-tried, nor would-he-have-given you that so

salutarem literam in judicando, quam  
salutary letter (of acquittal) in pronouncing-judgment, as

illam tristem. Cn. Pompeius  
(likewise) that sad-one (of condemnation). Cn. Pompey

videtur vero mihi, non modò judicasse nihil  
seems indeed to-me, not only to-have-adjudged nothing

gravius contra Milonem, sed etiam statuuisse,  
unfavourable against Milo, nor even to-have-ordained,

quid oporteret vos spectare in  
what it-might-be-proper (that) you should-look-to in

judicando. Nam, qui non  
forming (your) judgment. For, he-who (did) not (inflict)

pœnam confessioni, sed dedit  
punishment (after) confession, but gave (the cause for trial and)

defensionem, is putavit, causam  
defence, 'he (certainly) 'thought, (that) the cause

interitûs quærendam, non interitum.  
of-the-death was-to-be-inquired-into, not the death (itself).

Jam ipse profectò dicet illud, ne quod  
Now he-himself 'will certainly 'tell (us) that, whether what

fecit suâ sponte, putarit tribuendum  
he-did (of) his-own accord, he-might think, ought to-be-attributed

Publio Clodio, an temporì.  
to-Publius Clodius, or to-the-times.

7. Nobilissimus vir suæ domæ, propugnator  
The-most-illustrious man of-his family, the-defender

senatûs, atque quidem illis temporibus, pæne  
of-the-senate, and indeed in-those times, almost

patronus, avunculus hujus nostri judicis,  
the patron (thereof), the uncle of-this our judge,

fortissimi viri M. Catonis, M. Drusus tribunus  
the most-brave man M. Cato, M. Drusus a tribune

plebis occisus est. Populus nihil consultus  
of-the-people was-killed. The people 'were not 'consulted

de ejus morte, nulla quæstio decreta est  
concerning his death, no inquisition was decreed &

senatu. Quantum luctum fuisse in hac urbe,  
the senate. What mourning was-there in this city, (as)

accepimus a nostris patribus, quum illa nocturna  
we-have-heard from our fathers, when that nocturnal

vis illata esset P. Africano, quiescenti  
violence was-offered to-P. Africanus, [when he was killed] reposing

sue domi? quis non tum gemit? quis non  
in-his house? who 'did not then 'groan? who 'did not

arsit dolore, quem omnes cuperent esse  
'burn with grief, whom all desired to-be

immortalem, si posset fieri, ejus mortem esse  
immortal, if it-could be-so, (that) his death was

ne quidem necessariam expectatam?  
not indeed a necessary (and) expected (one)?

Num

[That his death was not even a natural one?] Whether 'there-was

igitur ulla quæstio lata est, de morte  
therefore any inquiry 'brought-forward, concerning the death

Africani? Certe nulla; quid ita? Quia clari  
of-Africanus? Certainly none; why so? Because illustrious

homines non necantur alio facinore,  
men 'are not 'killed by-one crime, (and)

obscuri alio  
obscure-men by-another. [The crime is the same, in killing an illustrious

Intersit

man, as in killing an obscure one.] Grant (that) there-may-be-a-difference

inter dignitatem vitæ summorum atque  
in the dignity (and worth) of-life of-the-highest and

infimorum; quidem mors illata per scelus  
of-the-lowest; indeed death inflicted by crime



teneatur et iisdem poenis et  
is-held (amenable) both to-the-same punishments and

legibus. Nisi forte erit magis  
laws (for all classes of men). Unless perchance it-were a greater

parricida, si qui necaverit consularem patrem,  
parricide, [crime,] if one should-kill a consular father,

quàm si quis humilem, aut mors  
than if one (should kill) an humble-citizen, or (that) the death

P. Clodii erit eo atrocior, quod is  
of-P. Clodius should-be in-that the-more-atrocious, because he

interfectus sit in monumentis suorum majorum.  
may-have-been-killed among the monuments of-his ancestors.

Enim hoc sæpe  
[On the Appian way, which they made.] For this 'is often

dicitur istis; proinde quasi ille  
'said, by-these (advocates of Clodius); consequently as-if that

Appius Cæcus muniverit viam, non  
(celebrated) Appius Cæcus had-constructed the road, not (that)

populus uteretur qua, sed ubi sui posteri  
the people might-use it, but (that) there (on it) his posterity

latrocinarentur impune. Itaque quum, in istâ  
might-rob with impunity. Therefore when, in this

eâdem Appiâ viâ, P. Clodius occidisset M. Papirium,  
same Appian way, P. Clodius had-killed M. Papirius,

ornatissimum Romanum equitem, illud facinus fuit  
a most-accomplished Roman knight, that crime was

non puniendum; enim nobilis homo occiderat  
not to-be-punished; for a noble man had-killed

Romanum equitem, in suis monumentis;  
a Roman knight, among his (family) monuments;

nunc nomen ejusdem Appiæ quantas  
now the name of-that-same Appian (road) what

tragedias excitat! Quæ, antea  
tragedies does-it-excite! (This same road) which, (when) heretofore

imbuta est, cruentatâ cæde honesti atque  
it-was-wet with-the-bloody murder of-an-honourable and

innocentis viri silebatur, eadem nunc crebè  
innocent man was-not-mentioned, the same 'is now often

usurpatur posteaquam sanguine  
 'mentioned after-that (it has been wet) with-the-blood  
 latronis et parricidæ. Sed quid ego commemoro  
 of a-robber and parricide. But why 'do I 'mention  
 illa? Servus P. Clodii comprehensus est, in  
 those-things? A slave of-P. Clodius was arrested, in  
 templo Castoris, quem ille collocaret ad  
 the temple of-Castor, whom he had-placed there for-the-purpose  
 interficiendum Cn. Pompeium; sica extorta est  
 of-killing Cn. Pompeius; the dagger was wrested  
 de manibus, confitenti; postea Pompeius  
 from (his) hands, he-confessing; after-this Pompey  
 caruit foro, caruit senatu,  
 was-wanting (absent) from the forum, was absent from the senate,  
 caruit publico; textit se januâ  
 was-absent from the public; he-protected himself 'by (his) 'doors  
 ac parietibus, non jure legum que judiciorum.  
 and walls, not by-the-right of-laws and (power) of-tribunals.  
 Num quæ rogatio lata, num quæ nova  
 Now what motion-for-a-law was-offered, or what new  
 quæstio decreta est? Atqui, si res, si vir,  
 inquisition was-decreed? But, if the thing (itself), if the man,  
 si ullum tempus fuit dignum,  
 if any time (or occasion) was worthy (of an extraordinary  
 certe hæc fuerunt omnia, in illâ causâ,  
 investigation), certainly these were all, in that cause,  
 summa. Insidiator erat collocatus in foro,  
 the greatest. The concealed-assassin was placed in the forum,  
 atque in ipso vestibulo senatûs; autem mors  
 and in the very vestibule of-the-senate; but death  
 parabatur ei viro, in cujus vitâ salus civitatis  
 was-prepared for-that man, on whose life the safety of-the-state  
 nitebatur; porro, eo tempore reipublicæ, quo,  
 depended; moreover, at-that time of-the-republic, in-which  
 si ille unus occidisset, non solùm hæc  
 if he (though only) one had-fallen, not alone this  
 civitas, sed omnes gentes concidissent. Nisi vero,  
 state but all nations had fallen. Nor indeed

quia res non perfecta est, fuit non  
because the thing 'was not 'accomplished, it-was not

punienda; proinde quasi exitus rerum, non  
to-be-punished; consequently as-if the result of-things, not

consilia hominum vindicentur legibus. Minus  
the-intentions of-men were-to-be-vindicated by-the-laws. Less

dolendum fuit, re non perfectâ, sed  
would-have-to-be-grieved-for, the thing not being-accomplished, but

nihilominus certe puniendum. Quoties, judices,  
nevertheless certainly it-ought-to-be-punished. How-often, O judges,

ego ipse effugi ex telis P. Clodii et  
have I myself 'escaped from the weapons of-P. Clodius and

ex ejus cruentis manibus? ex quibus, si vel mea  
from his bloody hands? from which, if either my

fortuna, vel reipublicæ non servasset  
good-fortune, or (that) of-the-republic 'had not 'saved

me, qui tandem tulisset quæstionem de  
me, who in-fine would-have-moved-for an inquisition concerning

meo interitu.

my death.

8. Sed sumus stulti, qui audeamus conferre  
But we-are foolish, who dare to compare

Drusum, qui Africanum, Pompeium, mosmet  
Drusus, who (also) Africanus, Pompey, (or) we

ipsos cum P. Clodio. Illa fuerunt tolerabilia;  
ourselves with P. Clodius. Those-things were to-be-borne-with;

nemo potest ferre mortem P. Clodii æquo  
(but) no-one can bear the death of-P. Clodius with-undisturbed

animo. Senatus luget, equester ordo  
mind. The senate mourns, the equestrian order

mœret, tota civitas confecta est  
is-afflicted-with-grief, the whole state weighed-down

senio municipia squalent,  
ith-the-languor-of-old-age, the municipalities are-in-mourning,

colonisæ afficiantur, denique agri ipsi  
the colonies are-afflicted-with-grief, in-fine the fields themselves

desiderant tam beneficum, tam salutarem, tam  
miss so beneficant, so useful, so

**mansuetum** civem. **Ea** fuit non causa, **judices**,  
mild a citizen. This was not the reason, O judges,

**profectò** fuit non, **cur** Pompeius censeret  
certainly it was not, why Pompey thought (that a law)

**quæstionem** **ferendum** **sibi**; sed,  
for-a-special-inquiry-and trial should-be-moved-for (by) him; but,

**sapiens** homo **atque** **præditus** **altâ**, **et**  
(being) a wise man and endowed with a profound, and

**quodam** **divinâ** mente, **vidit** **multa**; **illum**  
a certain divine mind, he-saw many-things (that) he

**fuisse** **inimicum** **sibi**, **Milonem**  
(Clodius) had-been an enemy to-him, (but) Milo

**familiarem**; **in** **communi** **lætitiâ** **omnium**, **si**  
an intimate-friend; in the general joy of-all, if

**ipse** **etiam** **gauderet**, **timuit** **ne** **fides**  
he-himself also should-rejoice, he-feared lest confidence (in his)

**reconciliatæ** **gratiæ** **videretur** **infirmior**;  
reconciliation (with Clodius) might-seem more-weak;

**etiam** **vidit** **multa** **alia**, **sed** **maxime** **illud**,  
'he also 'saw many other-things, but especially this, (that,

**quamvis** **atrociter** **ipse** **tulisset**, **tamen**  
however severe (the law) he-himself may-have-proposed, yet (that,

**vos** **judicaturos** **fortiter**. **Itaque** **delegit** **e**  
you would-decide fearlessly. Therefore he-has-selected from

**florentissimis** **ordinibus** **lumina** **ipsa**.  
the most illustrious ranks the lights themselves (of the state, for

**Neque** **verò**, **quod** **nonnulli** **dictitant**, **in**  
judges). Nor indeed, as some often-say, in

**legendis** **judicibus** **secrevit** **meos** **amicos**.  
selecting the judges has-he-separated (and passed by) my friends.

**Enim** **neque** **justissimus** **vir** **cogitavit** **hoc**,  
For neither 'has (this) most-just man 'thought this,

**neque**, **in** **legendis** **bonis** **viris**, **potuisset** **assequi**  
nor in selecting good men, could-he have-accomplished

**id**, **etiamsi** **cupisset**. **Enim** **mea** **gratia**  
that, even-if he-had-wished. For my favour (and influence)

**non** **continetur** **familiaritatibus**,  
'is not 'limited (to my) intimacies, [intimate friends,]

quæ possunt non patere late, propterea quodd  
 which can not extend far, because that (our  
 consuetudinæ victûs possunt non esse cum  
 habits of-social-living can not be with  
 multis ; sed, si  
 many, (and necessarily restricts us to few social companions); but, if  
 possumus quid, possumus  
 we-can (effect) any thing (by our influence), we-can (do it only)  
 ex eo, quodd respublica conjunxit nos cum  
 through this, that the republic has-united us with  
 bonis ; ex quibus, quum ille legeret  
 the good ; from-among whom, when he [Pompey] had-selected  
 optimos viros, que arbitraretur id maxime  
 the best men, and he-thought (that) this greatly  
 pertinere ad suam fidem,  
 appertained to his credit, (and the confidence placed in him),  
 potuit non non legere studiosos mei.  
 he-could not but select (those) favourably-disposed (to) me.  
 Quod vero voluit te L. Domiti maxime præesse,  
 That indeed he-wished you O. L. Domitius especially to-preside,  
 huic quæstioni, quæsivit nihil aliud, nisi  
 over-this investigation, he-sought-of nothing else, unless  
 justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem, fidem.  
 justice, dignity, humanity, and good-faith.  
 Tulit ut  
 He [Pompey] brought forward (in his law) that (the president) 'should  
 necesse esset consularem ; credo, quod  
 necessarily 'be a man-of-consular-dignity ; I-believe, because  
 ducebat esse munus principum  
 he-thought (that) it-was the duty of-the-higher-orders  
 resistere et levitati multitudinis et  
 to-oppose-themselves both to-the-fickleness of-the-multitude and  
 temeritati perditorum. Potissimum creavit  
 to-the-rashness of-the-profligate. Above-all he-selected  
 te ex consularibus. Enim, jam ab  
 you from-among those-of-consular-rank. For, already from (your)



adolescentiâ, dederas maxima documenta,  
youth, you-had-given the greatest proofs,

quàm contemneres populares insanias.  
how-much you-despised popular madness.

9. Quamobrem, judices, ut aliquando veniamus  
Wherefore, O judges, that at-length we-may-come

ad causam que crimen, si neque omnis  
to the cause (itself) and the accusation, if neither all

confessio facti est inusitata, neque quidquam  
confession of-the-deed is unusual, nor (that) any-thing

judicatum est a senatu, de nostrâ causâ, aliter  
was-determined by the senate, about our cause, otherwise

ac nos vellemus, et lator legis ipse, quum  
than we wished, and the proposer of-the-law himself, when

esset nulla controversia facti, tamen  
there-was no dispute (concerning) the deed, however

voluit esse disceptationem juris,  
desired that-there-should-be a discussion of-the-lawfulness

et judices electi, que is præpositus  
(thereof), and judges being-chosen, and he appointed-to-preside

quæstioni, qui disceptet hæc juste que  
over-the-investigation, who would-decide these-things justly and

sapienter, reliquum est, judices, ut debeatis jam,  
wisely, it-remains, O judges, that you-ought now,

querere nihil aliud, nisi uter fecerit  
to-inquire into-nothing else, unless which-one laid

insidias utri. Quod quò possitis  
snares-and-ambushes for-the-other. Which that you-may

facilius perspicere argumentis,  
the-more-easily perceive (what relates) to-the-argument,

quæso attendite diligenter, dum breviter expono  
I-entreat (you) attend carefully, while 'I briefly 'explain

vobis rem gestam. Quum P. Clodius statuisset  
to-you the occurrence. When P. Clodius had-determined

vexare rempublicam omni scelere in  
to-harass the republic by-all (kinds of) wickedness in (his)

præturâ, que videret comitia  
prætorship, and (as) he-saw (that) the comitia (for electing officers)

ita tracta esse anno superiore, ut  
 'had-been so-long 'delayed in-the-year before, the  
 posset non gerere præturam multos menses, qui  
 he-could not hold the prætorship many months, he-who  
 non spectaret gradum honoris, ut ceteri, sed  
 did not regard the degree of-honour, as others (did), but  
 et vellet effugere L. Paullum, civem  
 also he-wished to-avoid (having) L. Paullum, a citizen (endowed)  
 singulari virtute, collegam, et quæreret  
 with singular virtue, (for his) colleague, and (as) he (also) desired  
 integrum annum ad dilacerandam rempublicam,  
 an entire year to dilacerate the republic,  
 subito reliquit suum annum, que transtulit sese  
 suddenly he-gave-up his year, and transferred himself  
 in proximum annum, non, ut fit aliquâ  
 into the next year, not, that it-was-done through-any  
 religione, sed, ut haberet, quod ipse dicebat,  
 religious-scruples, but, that he-might-have, as he said,  
 plenum atque integrum annum, ad gerendam  
 a full and entire year, for discharging  
 præturam, hoc est ad evertendam rempublicam.  
 the prætorship, that is for overturning the republic.  
 Occurrebat ei, suam præturam futuram  
 It-occurred to-him, (that) his prætorship would-be  
 mancam ac debilem, Milone consule; porro  
 lame and weak, Milo (being) consul; moreover  
 videbat eum fieri consulem summo  
 it-seemed, (that) he would-be-made consul with-the-greatest  
 consensu Romani populi. Contulit se ad ejus  
 unanimity of-the-Roman people. He betook himself to his  
 competitors, sed ita, ut ipse solus  
 [Milo's] competitors, but so, that he-himself-alone  
 gubernaret totam petitionem, etiam illis invitis;  
 might-rule the entire canvass, even they being-unwilling;  
 ut sustineret, ut dictitabat tota comitia suis  
 that he-sustained, as 'he often-'said, the whole comitia on-his  
 humeris. Convocabat tribus, interponebat se;  
 shoulders. He-convoked the tribes, he-interposed himself.

conscribebat novam Collinam delectu  
 he-formed a-new Colline (tribe) by-the-enrolment-of-the

perditissimorum civium. Quanto ille  
 most-worthless citizens. As-much-as he [Clodius]

miscebat, tanto magis hic  
 threw-things-into-confusion, so-much the more this-one [Milo]

convalescebat in dies. Ubi homo  
 aimed-strength (from day) to day. When the-man (Clodius

aratusissimus ad omne facinus vidit, fortissimum  
 most-ready for every crime saw, (that) the-most-brave

virum, suum inimicissimum certissimum  
 person (Milo), his greatest-enemy (was) most-certain (to be)

consulem, que intellexit id sæpe  
 consul, and he-understood (that) this 'was often

declaratum esse, non solum sermonibus, sed etiam  
 'declared, not only by-the-conversation, but also

suffragiis Romani populi, cœpit agere palam, et  
 by-the-votes of-the-Roman people, he-began to-act openly, and

aperte dicere, Milonem occidendum esse.  
 plainly to-say, (that) Milo must-be-killed.

Deduxerat ex Apennino agrestes et barbaros  
 He-had-brought-down from the Apennines rustic and barbarous

servos, quos videbatis, quibus depopulatus erat  
 slaves, whom you-saw, with-whom he ravaged

publicas silvas, que vexarat Etruriam. Res erat  
 the public forests, and harassed Etruria. The affair was

minime obscura. Enim dictitabat palam,  
 by-no-means concealed. For he-often-said openly, (that)

consulatum posse non eripi Miloni  
 the consulship 'could not 'be-taken-from Milo (but that his)

vitam posse. Hoc sæpe significavit in senatu;  
 life could. This 'he often 'hinted in the senate;

dixit in concione; quin etiam  
 he-said (it openly) in the-public-assemblies-of-the-people; but also

respondit M. Favonio, fortissimo viro, quærenti ex  
 he-replied to-M. Favonius, a very-brave man. inquiring of

eo qua spe fureret, Milone vivo,  
 him with-what hope he-thus-gave-way-to-his-fury, Milo being-alive,

respondit triduo, aut summum quadriduo,  
 he-answered (that) in three-days, or at-most in-four-days, (that)  
 illum periturum esse; quam vocem ejus, Favonius  
 he would-be-dead; which expression of-his, Favonius  
 detulit statim ad hunc M. Catonem.  
 related immediately to this M. Cato, (here present as judge).

10. Interim, quum Clodius sciret, (enim neque  
 In-the-mean-time, when Clodius knew, (for neither  
 erat difficilis scire), esse sollemne,  
 was-it difficult to-know-it), (that) there-was a yearly,  
 legitimum necessarium iter Miloni Lanuvium,  
 legitimate (and) necessary journey for Milo to-Lanuvium,  
 ante XIII diem Kalendis Februarias  
 before the XIII day of-the Kalends of-February [18th of January]  
 ad prodendum flaminem, quòd Milo erat dictator  
 to nominate the priest, because Milo was dictator  
 Lanuvii, ipse subito pridie profectus est  
 of Lanuvium, he (Clodius) suddenly, on-the-day-before, proceeded-from  
 Româ, ut collocaret insidias ante suum fundum  
 Rome, that he-might-place ambushes before his farm  
 Miloni (quod intellectum est re). Atque ita  
 for Milo as was-understood by-the-thing (itself). And he-so

profectus est, ut relinqueret turbulentam  
 departed (from Rome), that he-left a turbulent  
 concionem, in qua ejus furor desideratus est,  
 assemblage-of-people, in which his violence was-missed,

quæ habita est illo ipso die, quam  
 (and) which was-held on-that same day, which 'he-would  
 nunquam reliquisset, nisi voluisset obire  
 never 'have-left, unless he-wished to-go (and make

locum que tempus facinoris. Autem  
 use of) the place and time (for committing) a crime. But

Milo, quum fuisset in senatu eo die, quoad  
 Milo, when he-had-been in the senate that day, until

senatus dimissus est, venit domum; mutavit  
 the senate was-dismissed, came home; he-changed (his)

calceos et vestimenta; commoratus est paulisper,  
 shoes and dress; he-waited a little,

(ut fit), dum uxor comparat se,  
 (as (is usually) done), while (his) wife 'gets herself 'ready,  
 deinde profectus id temporis, quum jam Clodius  
 then he-departed (at) that time, when already Clodius  
 potuisset redire, si quidem venturus erat Romam,  
 might have-returned, if indeed he-was-to-return to Rome,  
 eo die. Clodius obviam fit ei,  
 on-that day. Clodius meets him, (he Clodius being)  
 expeditus, in equo, nullâ rhedâ, nullis  
 unencumbered, on horseback, with-no carriage, with-ne  
 impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus, ut solebat,  
 baggage, with-no Greek attendants, as he-used  
 sine uxore, quod fere nunquam,  
 (to-have), without (his) wife, which (was) almost never  
 quum hic insidiator, qui apparasset  
 (the case), when this waylayer, [Milo,] who had-prepared  
 illud iter, ad faciendam cædem, veheretur  
 that journey, for-the-purpose-of committing murder, was-drawn  
 in rhedâ cum uxore, pænulatus  
 in a carriage with (his) wife, (and was) enveloped-in-a-travelling-cloak,  
 et magno impedito, et muliebri ac delicato  
 and with great baggage, and with-an-effeminate and delicate  
 comitatu ancillarum, que puerorum. Fit obviam  
 cortege of-maid-servants, and of-boys. He-meets  
 Clodio ante ejus fundum, fere undecimâ horâ,  
 Clodius before his farm, about the eleventh hour,  
 aut non multo secus. Statim complures faciunt  
 or not much from-it. Immediately many make  
 impetum in hunc cum telis, de superiore loco;  
 an attack on him with missiles, from the higher place;  
 adversi occidunt rhedarium;  
 the opponents kill the driver (of his carriage); but  
 quum hic, rejectâ pænulâ, desiluisset  
 when he, having-thrown-off (his) cloak, had-jumped  
 de rhedâ, que defenderet se acri  
 from-the-sarriage, and defended himself with-a-courageous (and  
 animo, illi, qui erant cum Clodio,  
 vigorous) mind, those, who were with Clodius,



eductis gladiis, partim recurrere ad  
 having-drawn (their) swords, some-of-them ran-back to  
 rhedam, ut adorirentur Milonem a tergo,  
 the chariot, that they-might-attack Milo in the-rear,  
 partim, quòd putarent hunc jam  
 some-of-them, because they-thought (that) he 'was already  
 interfectum, incipiunt cædere ejus servos, qui erant  
 slain, begin to-kill his slaves, who were  
 post, ex quibus, qui fuerunt præsentì  
 behind, from-among whom, those-who had presence (of)  
 animo, et fidei in dominum,  
 mind (and resolution), and were faithful to (their) master, were  
 partim occisi sunt, partim, quum viderent  
 part-of-them 'slain, a part, when they-saw (that)  
 pugnari ad rhedam, prohiberentur  
 there-was-a-fight at the carriage, (and) were-prohibited from  
 succurrere domino, audirent ex Clodio  
 succouring (their) master, (when) they-heard from Clodius  
 ipso Milonem occisum, et putarent re  
 himself, (that) Milo was-killed, and believed the thing (to be)  
 verâ, servi Milonis fecerunt id (enim dicam  
 true, the servants of-Milo did that (for I-speak  
 aperte, non causâ derivandi criminis,  
 openly, not for-the-purpose of shifting the blame (from Milo to  
 sed ut factum est),  
 his servants), but (that the affair may be stated) as it-was-done),  
 domino nec imperante, nec sciente, nec  
 (their) master neither commanding, nor knowing, nor  
 præsentè, quod quisque voluisset suos  
 being-present, which each-one (of us) might-have-wished his  
 servos facere, in tali re.  
 servant to-do, in such an affair.

11. Hæc, judices, gesta sunt, ita sicut  
 These-things, O judges, have-been-done, just as  
 exposui; insidiator superatus est; vis  
 I-have-stated (them); the-waylayer was-overcome; violence  
 victa vi, vel potius audacia oppressa est  
 was-defeated by-violence, or rather audacity was-put-down

virtute. Dico nihil, quid respublica  
by-valor I-say nothing, (about) what the republic

consecuta sit, nihil, quid vos  
may-have-gained, nothing, (about) what you (may have gained),

nihil, quid omnes boni.  
nothing, (about) what all good-men (may have gained, by this

Sane id prosit nihil Miloni, qui  
(event). But-indeed 'let that 'be no 'advantage to Milo, who

natus est hoc fato, ut quidem potuerit ne servare  
is born to-this fate, that indeed he-could not save

se, quin unâ, servaret  
himself, but-that together (and at the same time), he-saved

republicam que vos. Si id potuit non fieri  
the republic and you. If this could not be-done

jure, habeo nihil, quod defendam. Sin et  
with right, I-have nothing, that I-may-defend. But-if both

ratio præscripsit hoc doctis, et necessitas  
reason has-prescribed this to-the-learned, and necessity

barbaris, et mos gentibus, et etiam natura  
to-barbarians, and custom to-nations, and also nature

feris belluis, ut semper propulsarent omnem  
to-wild beasts, that 'they-might always 'repel all

vim quacunque ope possent, a corpore,  
violence, by-whatever means they-could, from (their) body

a capite, a suâ vitâ, potestis non  
from (their) head, (and) from their life, you-can no

judicare hoc improbum facinus, quin  
adjudge this (to be) a wicked deed, but-that

simul judicetis, omnibus, qui inciderint  
at-the-same-time you-decide, for-all, who may-have-fallen

in latrones, pereundum esse, aut illorum  
among robbers, (that) they-must-perish, either 'by their

tellis, aut vestris sententiis. Quòd si  
[the robber's] 'weapons, or by-your sentences. Because if

putasset ita, certe fuit optabilius  
he-had-thought so, 'it certainly 'would-have-been more-desirable

Miloni, dare jugulum P. Clodio,  
for Milo. to-offer (his) throat to-P. Clodio, (which)

petitum ab illo non semel, neque tum  
had-been-sought by him not once, nor then

primum, quam jugulari a vobis, quia  
for-the-first-time, than to-be-strangled by you, because 'he-had  
non tradidisset se illi jugulandum. Sin nemo  
not 'delivered himself to-him to-be-killed. But-if no-one

vestrum sentis ita, jam illud venit in judicium,  
of-you thinks so, now this comes in judgment, (and is a

non, ne occisus sit,  
subject of inquiry for the judges), not, whether he-may-have-been-killed,

quod fatemur; sed jure, an injuriâ;  
which we-confess; but (whether it was done) justly, or unjustly;

quod, in multis causis sæpe quæsitum est.  
which, in many causes, 'has often 'been-inquired-into.

Constat insidias factas esse, et id  
It-is-evident (that) snares and ambushades were laid, and this

est, quod senatus judicavit, factum contra  
is, what the senate has-determined, was-done against

republicam; ab utro factæ sint, est  
the republic; by which-of-the-two they-might-have-been-laid, is

incertum. De hoc igitur latum est  
uncertain. Concerning this therefore it-has-been-moved (and or-

ut quæreretur. Et ita senatus  
dered) that it-should-be-inquired-into. And so the senate

notavit rem, non hominem, et Pompeius  
disapproved the-thing, not the man, and Pompey

tulit quæstionem de jure, non  
has-brought-forward the inquiry concerning the lawfulness, not

de facto.  
concerning the fact (itself).

12. Igitur numquid aliud, venit in  
Therefore is-there-any other-thing, (that) comes in

judicium, nisi uter fecerit insidias  
judgment, unless which-one laid snares-and-ambushades

utri? Profectò nihil; si hic  
for-the-other? Indeed nothing-else; if this (Milo laid snares)

illi, ut ne sit impune; si  
for-him (Clodius), 'let-it not 'be with impunity; if

ille huic, tum nos solvamur  
 he (Clodius laid snares) for-this (Milo), then we are-acquitted  
 scelere.  
 of-guilt.

Igitur quonam pacto potest probari,  
 Therefore in-what manner can (it) be-proved, (that)  
 Clodium fecisse insidias Miloni? Est quidem  
 Clodius had-laid snares for-Milo? It-is indeed

satis, in illâ tam audaci, tam nefariâ belluâ,  
 sufficient, in that so audacious, so wicked a monster,  
 docere, magnam causam ei  
 to-show, (that there was) great reason for-him (to desire Milo's

magnam spem propositam in morte  
 death, and) great hopes were offered (him) by the death  
 Milonis, magnas utilitates fuisse.  
 of-Milo, that great advantages would-have (resulted to him

Itaque illud Cassianum, "cui  
 thereby). Therefore that (maxim of) Cassius, "to-whom  
 fuerit bono," valeat in his  
 would-it-be advantageous," may-have-authority among these

personis; etsi boni impelluntur nullo  
 persons; although the good are-impelled by-no  
 emolumento in fraudem, improbi  
 advantage in (committing) a crime, bad-men (are induced

sæpe parvo. Atqui, Milone  
 to do so) often by-a-small (advantage). But-then, Milo  
 interfecto, assequebatur hoc, non modò, ut esset  
 being-slain, he-attained this, not only, that he-might-be

prætor, non eo consule, quæ posset facere  
 prætor, not with-such a consul, under-whom he-could commit  
 nihil sceleris, sed etiam, ut esset prætor,  
 nothing of-crime, [no crime,] but also, that he-would-be prætor,

his consulibus, quibus si non juvantibus,  
 those being-consuls, who if (they were) not assisting (him),  
 at certe conniventibus, speraret, se posse.  
 at-least certainly were conniving, he-hoped, (that) he might-be-able

eludere in illis suis cogitatis furoribus;  
 to-elude (detection) in those his contemplated frantic-deeds.

cujus conatus illi, ut ipse ratiocinabatur,  
whose attempts they, [the consuls], as he [Clodius] reasoned

nec cuperent reprimere, si possent,  
[with himself], 'would not 'desire to suppress, if they-could,

quum arbitrarentur se debere ei  
when they-considered (that) they were-indebted to-him

tantum beneficium; et si vellent,  
for-such-a-great favour, and if they-wished (to repress them),

fortasse possent vix frangere audaciam  
perhaps 'they-could 'scarcely crush the audacity

sceleratissimi hominis, jam corroboratam  
of-a-most-wicked man, now confirmed

vetustate. An verò, judices,  
by-a-long-duration (of impunity). But indeed, O judges, 'are

vos soli ignoratis, vos versamini  
you alone ignorant (of all this), 'do you 'reside (as)

hospites in hac urbe? vestrae aures  
strangers in this city? 'do your ears

peregrinantur neque versantur in hoc  
'wander-and-pay-no-attention, nor are-they-practised in this

pervagato sermone civitatis, quas leges  
common-and-wide-spread report of-the-city, what laws

(si nominandæ sunt leges, ac non faces  
(if they-are-to-be-called laws, and not firebrands (for)

urbis, pestes reipublicæ) ille impositurus fuerit  
the city, (and) pests of-the-republic he would-have-imposed

nobis omnibus, atque inustus? Exhibe  
on us all, and indelibly-branded (on us all)? Produce

quæso Sexte Clodi, exhibe illud librarium  
I-entreat-you Sextus Clodius, produce that book-case (containing)

vestrarum legum, quod aiunt, te eripuisse  
your laws, which they-say, (that) you snatched

e domo, et ex mediis armis, que  
from (your) house, and from the midst (of) arms, and

nocturnâ turbâ, extulisse tanquam  
a nocturnal mob (threatening you), (and) bore (it) aloft as

Palladium, videlicet, ut posse deferre  
a Palladium, for-the-purpose, that you-might-be-able to-carry



præclarum munus, atque instrumentum  
the splendid present, and instrument-of-writing (for)

tribunatûs ad aliquem, si nactus esses, qui  
the tribuneship, to some-one, if you-could-find (him), who

gereret tribunatum tuo arbitrio.  
would-discharge-the-duties (of) the-tribuneship to-your wish.

An ille ausus esset facere mentionem hujus  
Whether 'would he 'have-dared to-make mention of-this

legis, quam Sex. Clodius gloriatur, inventam  
law, which Sex. Clodius boasts, (that) it-was-devised

a se, Milone vivo, ne dicam  
by him, Milo being-alive, not I-may-mention (his) (being)

consule? De omnium nostrum—audeo non dicere  
consul? Concerning all of-us —I dare not say

totum. Videte, quid ea lex habitura fuerit  
all. See, what that law would-have-had

vitii cujus etiam reprehensio  
of odiousness, (when the mere mention) of-which even (for) reprehension

est periculosa. Et quidem adspexit me illis  
is dangerous. And indeed he-looked at-me with-those

oculis, quibus tum solebat, quum minabatur  
eyes, with-which 'he then 'used-to-do, when he threatened

omnia omnibus. Lumen curiæ quippe  
every-thing to all. This light of-the-senate-house indeed

movet me.

moves me.

13. Quid? tu putas, me iratum tibi,  
What? do you think, (that) I am-angry with-you,

Sexte, cujus inimicissimum tu punitus es, etiam  
O Sextus, whose greatest-enemy you have-punished, even

multò crudeliùs, quàm erat meæ  
much more-cruelly, than it-would-be (the part) of-my

humanitatis postulare? Tu ejecisti domo  
humanity to-require? You threw 'from (his) 'house

cruentum cadaver P. Clodii, tu abjecisti in  
the bloody carcass of-P. Clodius, you 'cast (it) 'out to

publicum, tu reliquisti spoliatum imaginibus,  
be public. you left-it deprived (of ancestral) images,

exsequiis, pompâ, laudatione, semustilatum  
of-funeral-rites, of-funeral-pomp, of-funeral-panegyric, half-burnt

infelicissimis lignis  
'with (those) 'most unfortunate (pieces of) wood [the furniture of the

dilaniandum canibus,  
senate chamber] (and) to-be-torn (and devoured) by dogs,

nocturnis. Quare etsi fecisti nefarie,  
that-prowl-about-at night. Wherefore although you-have-acted wickedly

tamen, quoniam exprompsisti tuam crudelitatem  
nowever, because you-have-wreaked your cruelty

in meo inimico, possum non laudare,  
on my enemy, (though) I-can not praise (you),

certe debeo non irasci. [Demonstravi iudices,  
certainly I-ought not to-be-angry. [I have-demonstrated O judges,

quantum Claudii inter] fuerit, Milonem  
how-much (as respects) Claudius it was] (his) interest, (that) Mile

occidi. Nunc convertite animos vicissim ad  
should-be-slain. Now turn (your) minds next to

Milonem. Quid intererat Milonis, Clodium  
Milo. What was-the-interest of-Milo, (that) Clodius

interfici? Quid erat cur Milo, non dicam  
should-be-slain? What was-there why Milo, 'I-will not 'say

admitteret, sed optaret?  
should commit (such a deed), but 'should (even) 'desire (it)? (But)

Clodius obstabat Miloni, in spe consulatûs.  
Clodius was-an-obstacle to-Milo, in (his) hope of-the-consulship.

At, eo repugnante, fiebat; immo verò  
But, he opposing, he-was-made (to gain); moreover indeed

fiebat eò magis, nec utebatur me  
so-was-made (to gain) so-much the more, nor did-he-use me

meliore suffragatore, quam Clodio  
[nor was I] a better electioneerer (for him), than Clodius (was)

memoria, meritorum Milonis erga me que  
the remembrance, of-the-services of-Milo towards me and

republicam, valebat apud vos, iudices; nostræ  
the republic, availed (much) with you, O judges; our

lacrimæ et preces, quibus ego sentiebam, vos  
and entreaties, by-which I perceived, (that) you

tum mirifice moveri valebant; sed multò plus  
'were then wonderfully 'moved were-of-avail; but much mere

timor impendetium periculorum valebat. Enim  
did the fear of-impending dangers 'avail. For

quis erat civium, qui proponeret sibi  
who was-there of-the-citizens, who could-place-before himself

solutam præturam P. Clodii, sine maximo metu  
the unrestrained prætorship of-P. Clodius, without the greatest fear

novarum rerum? Autem videbatis fore  
of a revolution? But you-saw that it would-be

solutam, nisi is esset consul, qui auderet que  
unrestrained, unless he were consul, who might-dare and

posset constringere eam. Quum universus Romanus  
could restrain it. When the entire Roman

populus sentiret eum Milonem esse unum,  
people perceived (that) this Milo was the only-one,

quis dubitaret, suo suffragio  
(that could do this), who would-doubt, by his vote

liberare se metu, rempublicam periculo?  
to-free himself from-fear, (and) the republic from-danger?

At nunc, Clodio remoto, est Miloni jam  
But now, Clodius being-removed, it-is for-Milo now

enitendum, usitatis rebus, ut tueatur suam  
to-exert-himself, by-the-usual means, that he-may-preserve his

dignitatem; illa singularis gloria, et concessa huic  
dignity; that peculiar glory, and conceded to-him

uni, quæ quotidie augebatur frangendis  
alone, (and) which 'was daily 'increased of-breaking (and

furoribus Clodianis, jam cecidit  
frustrating) the mad-schemes (of) Clodius, 'has now 'fallen

morte Clodii. Vos adepti estis  
(and ceased), by-the-death of-Clodius. You attained-to-this, (that)

ne metueritis quem civem; hic perdidit  
'you-need not 'fear any citizen; he lost

exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem  
(the occasion of) exercising (his) valour, votes

consulatûs, perennem fontem suæ gloriæ  
(for) the-consulship, (and) the perpetual fountain of-his glory

Itaque consulatus Milonis, qui, Clodio vivo,  
 Therefore the consulship of-Milo, which, Clodius (being) alive,  
 poterat non labefactari, denique,  
 could not be-shaken, (or defeated, but now), in fine, (he being)  
 mortuo, coeptus est tentari.  
 dead, it-has-been-commenced (for it) to-be-attempted. [they have

commenced to prevent it.] Igitur mors Clodii non  
 commenced to prevent it.] Therefore the death of-Clodius 'is not

modò nihil prodest Miloni, sed etiam obest.  
 only no 'advantage to-Milo, but even is-an-injury (to him)

At odium valuit, fecit iratus, fecit  
 But-then (his) hatred prevailed, he-did (it) enraged, he-did (it)  
 inimicus, fuit ultor injuriæ, punitor sui  
 as an enemy, he-was the avenger of-injury, the avenger of-his  
 doloris. Quid? si non dico, hæc fuerunt  
 griefs. What? if I-do not say, (that) these-things were

majora in Clodio, quàm in Milone, sed maxima in  
 greater in Clodius, than in Milo, but the greatest in

illo, null\* in hoc? quid vultis  
 the former, (and) not-at-all in the latter? what do-you-wish

amplius? Enim quid Milo odisset Clodium,  
 more? For why (should) Milo have-hated Clodius,

segetem ac materiem suæ gloriæ, præter hoc civile  
 the cause and material of-his glory, except that civil

odium, quo odimus omnes improbos? Erat,  
 hatred, by-which we-hate all wicked-persons? There-was (reason)

ut ille odisset primùm  
 that he (Clodius) should-hate (Milo, for) firstly he [Milo, (was)]

defensorem meæ salutis, deinde vexatorem  
 the defender of-my safety, next (as) the disturber (of his)

furoris, dominatorem suorum  
 fury, (and) (as) the master (and repressor) of-his

armorum, postremò etiam suum accusatorem. Enim  
 arms, finally also (as) his accuser. For

Clodius quoad vixit fuit reus Milonis, Plotiâ  
 Clodius as-long-as he-lived was the accused of-Milo, by-the-Plotian

lege.

law. [On the accusation of Milo, Clodius was liable to be tried by the

Flavian law, against violence.] Tandem quo aninio  
In-fine with-what feelings  
creditis illum tyrannum tulisse hoc?  
do-you-suppose (that) that tyrant bore this?  
quantum illius odium, et, in injusto  
how-great (do you suppose was) his hatred, and, in an unjust  
homine, etiam quàm justum  
(and wicked) man, also how reasonable, (that this)  
fuisse?  
was?

14. Reliquum est jam, ut ipsius natura,  
It-remains now, (to show) that his nature,  
que consuetudo defendat illum, autem hæc  
and habits may-defend that-one, [Clodius,] but these  
eadem coarguant hunc. Clodius  
same-things may-accuse (and censure) this-one. [Milo.] Clodius (did)  
nihil unquam per vim, Milo omnia per vim.  
nothing at-any-time by force, Milo (did) every-thing by force.  
Quid? quum ego cessi urbe, vobis, iudices,  
What? when I departed from-the-city, you, O judges,  
mœrentibus, ne timui iudicium? non  
mourning, did-I fear a trial? (was it) not (rather)  
servos, non arma, non vim? quæ  
slaves, not (rather) arms, not (rather) violence? what  
igitur fuisset justa causa restituendi mei,  
therefore might-have-been a just cause of-recalling me (from  
nisi ejiciendi  
banishment), unless (the cause) of-throwing (me into banishment)  
fuisset injusta? Credo dixerat diem mihi,  
had-been unjust? I-suppose he-had-appointed a day for-me  
irrogarat multam, intenderat  
(for trial), (he had proposed) to impose a fine, he-had-threatened  
actionem perduellionis, et mihi videlicet,  
an action of-treason, and (by) me forsooth, (your)  
iudicium timendum fuit, in causâ, aut malâ aut  
judgment was-to-be-feared, in a cause, either bad or  
meâ, non et præclarissimâ et vestrâ. Nolui  
mine, not (as) both most-illustrious and yours. I-did-not-wish



objici meos cives servatos, meis consiliis que  
to-expose my citizens saved, by-my counsels and

periculis, armis servorum, et egentium civium,  
dangers, to-the-arms of slaves, and of-needy citizens,

et facinorosorum, pro me. Enim vidi, vidi hunc  
and of-the-wicked, for me. For I-saw, I-saw this

ipsum Q. Hortensius lumen et ornamentum  
same Q. Hortensius (here) the light and ornament

reipublicæ, pæne interfici manu servorum, quum  
of-the-republic, nearly killed by-a-band of-slaves, when

adesset mihi; in quâ turbâ C. Vibienus,  
he-was-standing by-me; in which mob C. Vibienus,

senator, optimus vir, quum esset unâ cum  
a senator, (and) most-excellent man, when he-was together with

hoc, ita mulcatus est, ut amiserit vitam.  
him, 'was so 'beaten, that he-lost (his) life.

Itaque quando postea illa sica illius, quam  
Therefore when after-that 'did that 'dagger of-his, which

acceperat a Catilinâ conquievit? Hæc  
he-had-received from Catiline 'rest? This (dagger)

intentata est nobis; ego non passus sum huic  
was-aimed at-us; [me] I 'can not 'suffer this

objici vos pro me; hæc insidiata est  
to-be-thrust at-you for me; this (dagger) lay-in-wait

Pompeio, hæc cruentavit istam Appiam,  
for-Pompey, this (dagger) stained-with-blood this Appian way,

monumentum sui nominis, nece Papirii; hæc,  
the monument of-his name, by-the-murder of-Papirius; this,

hæc eadem, longo intervallo, rursus  
this same (dagger), after-a long interval, 'was again

conversa est in me; nuper quidem, ut scitis,  
'turned against me; lately indeed, as you-know,

pæne confecit me ad regiam.  
it nearly killed me at the royal (house). [Palace of Numa.]

Quid simile Milonis? omnis cujus  
What like (this in the conduct) of Milo? all whose

vis fuit semper hæc, P. Clodius ne  
violence was always this, (that) P. Clodius 'might not

teneret civitatem oppressam vi,  
 'hold the city oppressed by-violence, [keep the city in con-

tinual fear of his violence,] quum posset non detrahi in  
 since he could not be-brought to

judicium. Quem si voluisset interficere, quantæ  
 justice. Whom if he-had-wished to kill, how-many

occasiones, quoties, quàm præclaræ fuerunt?  
 opportunities, (how) often, how splendid were-they?

Potuit ne, quum defenderet domum, ac suos  
 Could-he not, when he-defended (his) house, and his

penates deos, illo oppugnante, jure ulcisci  
 household gods, he (Clodius) attacking, have by-right avenged

se? potuit ne, egregio civi, et  
 himself? could-he not (have done so), (that) excellent citizen, and

fortissimo viro P. Sestio suo collegâ vulnerato?  
 most-brave n.an P. Sestius his colleague being-wounded?

potuit ne Q. Fabricio, optimo viro,  
 could-he not (have done so) Q. Fabricio, a-most-excellent man,

quum ferret legem, ac meo reditu,  
 when carrying-through a law, respecting my return (from banish-

pulso, crudelissimâ cæde  
 ment), being driven away (by a mob), (and) a most-cruel slaughter

factâ in foro? potuit ne domo L.  
 being-made in-the-forum? could-he not (have done so) the house of-L.

Cælii, justissimi que fortissimi prætoris, oppugnâtâ?  
 Cælius, a most-just and most-brave prætor, being-attacked?

potuit ne, illo die, quum lex de  
 could-he not (have done so), on-that day, when the law concerning

me lata est? quum concursus totius  
 me was-passed? when the concourse (of the people) of-all

Italiæ, quem mea salus concitarat,  
 Italy, whom my safety had-excited (and brought together),

libens agnovisset gloriam illius facti  
 'would willingly 'have-acknowledged the glory of-that deed (and)

ut etiamsi, Milo fecisset id, cuncta civitas  
 that although, Milo may-have-done it, the whole state

vindicaret eam laudem pro sua.  
 would-have-claimed that praise for its-own.

15. At quod tempus erat !  
 But what (a favourable) time it was ! (Feel  
 Clarissimus et fortissimus P. Lentulus consul,  
 the-most-illustrious and most-brave P. Lentulus (was) consul,  
 inimicus Claudio, ultor illius sceleris, propugnator  
 an enemy to-Claudius, the avenger of-his wickedness, the bulwark  
 senatûs, defensor vestræ voluntatis, patronus  
 of-the-senate, the defender of-your will, the patron  
 publici consensûs,  
 (and promoter) 'of (that) 'public unanimity (for my return),  
 restitutor meæ salutis ; septem prætores, octo  
 the restorer of-my safety ; seven prætors, eight  
 tribuni plebis adversarii illius, defensores  
 tribunes of-the-people (being) adversaries of-him, (and) defenders  
 mei ; Cn. Pompeius auctor, et dux mei  
 of-me ; Cn. Pompey (being) the author, and leader of-my  
 reditûs illius hostis, cujus gravissimam et  
 return (and) his enemy, whose most-dignified and  
 ornatissimam sententiam de meâ salute, omnis  
 most-beautiful opinion concerning my safety, the entire  
 senatus secutus est, qui cohortatus est  
 senate adopted, who [Pompey] exhorted  
 Romanum populum, qui, quum fecit decretum  
 the Roman people, who, when he passed the decree  
 de me Capuæ, ipse dedit signum cunctæ  
 concerning me at-Capua, he-himself gave the signal to-entire  
 Italiæ, cupienti, et imploranti ejus fidem,  
 Italy, desiring, and imploring his good-faith (in my favour),  
 ut concurrent ad restituendam  
 that they-should-assemble-together for-the-purpose-of restoring  
 me Romam ; denique tum omnia odia civium  
 me to-Rome ; in-fine then all the hatred of-the-citizens  
 ardebant in illum, desiderio mei ;  
 was-strongly-excited against him, 'with-regret-at my 'absence ;  
 quem qui interemisset tum ; non  
 whom [Clodius] if any-one 'had-killed then ; 'it-would not  
 cogitaretur de ejus impunitate, sed de  
 have-been-thought concerning his impunity, but about

præmiis Tamen Milo continuit  
the rewards (to be conferred on him). However Milo restrained

se, et bis vocavit P. Clodium in iudicium  
himself, and twice summoned P. Clodius to a trial-in-court,

nunquam ad vim. Quid?  
(but) never (challenged him) to deeds-of-violence. What?

Milone privato, et reo ad populum,  
Milo being a private-person, and a defendant before the people,

P. Clodio accusante, quum impetus factus est in  
P. Clodius being-the-accuser, when an attack was made on

Cn. Pompeium dicentem pro Milone, quæ occasio  
Cn. Pompeius pleading for Milo, what an opportunity

non modò tum, sed etiam causa  
not only (was there) then, but even a reason (for)

opprimendi? Nuper vero quum M.  
surprising (and killing him)? Lately indeed when M.

Antonius attulisset summam spem salutis omnibus  
Antonius had-brought the greatest hope of-safety to-all

bonis, que nobilissimus adolescens fortissime  
good-men, and the-most-noble young-man 'had most-bravely

suscepisset gravissimam partem reipublicæ, atque  
espoused the-most-responsible cause of-the-republic, and

teneret illam belluam, declinantem  
when 'he (almost) 'held that wild-beast, avoiding

laqueos iudicii, jam irretitam; qui  
the snares of-the-tribunals, already entangled-in-his-nets; what

locus, quod tempus fuit illud, immortales  
a place, what a time (and opportunity) was that, O immortal

dii? Quum ille fugiens abdidisset se in tenebras  
gods? When he flying had-hid himself in the darkness

scalarum, fuit magnum Miloni  
of-the-stairs, it (might) have-been a-great-thing for-Milo

conficere illam pestem, nullâ invidiâ suâ, vero  
to-have-killed that pest, with-no odium (to himself), but

maximâ gloriâ Antonii. Quid? comitiis  
with great glory (to) Antonius. What? in-the-comitiis

in Campo, quoties fuit  
(when voting) in the Campus Martius, how-often was

potestas, quum  
 the power, [how often had Milo the opportunity of killing Clodius] when  
 ille irrupisset in septa,  
 he [Clodius] had-broken into the-enclosures-for-voting, (and)  
 curavisset, gladios destringendos lapides  
 had-taken-care, (that) swords should-be-drawn (and) stones  
 jaciendos, dein subito perterritus vultu  
 should-be-thrown, then suddenly frightened by-the-appearance  
 Milonis fugeret ad Tiberim, vos et omnes boni  
 of-Milo he-fled to the Tiber, you and all good-men  
 faceretis vota, ut liberet Miloni uti  
 made vows, [prayed,] that it-would-please Milo to-make  
 suâ virtute.  
 use-of-his courage (and kill Clodius).

16. Igitur quem noluit cum gratiâ  
 Therefore whom he-would-not (kill) with the-approbation  
 omnium, voluit hunc cum querelâ aliquorum?  
 of-all, would-he (kill) him with the disapprobation of-some?  
 quem ausus est non jure, quem  
 whom he-dared not (kill) lawfully, whom (he dared not kill) 'is  
 loco, quem tempore,  
 (a proper) 'place, whom (he dared not kill) at-an-opportune-time,  
 quem impune, non dubitavit  
 whom (he dared not kill) with-impunity, 'would-he not 'have-doubted  
 occidere hunc injuriâ, iniquo loco, alieno  
 to-kill him unlawfully, in-an-improper place, at-an  
 tempore, periculo capitis præsertim, judices,  
 inopportune-time, with-danger of-his-life especially, O judges,  
 quum contentio amplissimi honoris, et  
 when the contest (for) the greatest honours (of the state) and  
 dies comitiorum subesset; quo tempore  
 the day of-the-comitia [election] was-at-hand; at-which time  
 quidem (enim scio quàm timida ambitio sit, que  
 indeed (for I-know how timid ambition is, and  
 quanta et quàm sollicita sit cupiditas consulatûs),  
 how-great and how anxious is the desire of-the-consulship),  
 timemus omnia non modò quæ possunt palam  
 we-fear every-thing not only what may be openly



reprehendi, sed etiam quæ obscure cogitari,  
'reprehended, but also what (may) 'be obscurely 'thought,

perhorescimus levem rumorem fictam fabulam,  
we shudder-at idle rumours (and) false stories

intuemur ora atque oculos omnium. Enim  
we-look-at the countenances and eyes of-all. For

nihil est tam molle, tam tenerum, aut tam fragile,  
nothing is so soft, so tender, or so fragile,

aut flexibile, quàm voluntas que sensus civium  
or flexible, as the good-will and feeling of-the-citizens

erga nos, qui non modò irascuntur improbitati  
towards us, who not only are-provoked at-the-wickedness

candidatorum, sed etiam sæpe fastidiunt in factis  
of-the-candidates, but also often become-disgusted with deeds

recte. Milo igitur, proponens sibi  
(done) correctly (by him). 'Would Milo then, placing-before him

hunc speratum atque exoptatum diem Campi,  
this hoped-for and desired day of-the Campus Martius,

confitens et ferens præ se  
[day of the election,] confessing and bearing before himself

cruentis manibus, scelus et facinus, veniebat ad  
with-bloody hands, (his) crime and wickedness, 'come to

illa augusta auspicia centuriarum? Quàm  
those august auspices of-the-centuria? How

non credibile hoc in hōc! quàm non dubitandum  
incredible is this in this-one! how indubitable

idem in Clodio, qui, Milone interfecto, putaret  
(is) the same in Clodius, who, Milo being-slain, he-thought

se regnaturum! Quid?  
(that) he would-resign! What (is to be said of that)?

quod, iudices, est caput audaciæ, quis  
which, O judges, is the head (and source) of-audacity, who

ignorat maximam illecebram peccandi esse  
is-ignorant (that) the greatest enticement of-doing-wrong is

spem impunitatis? In utro igitur fuit hæc?  
the hope of-impunity? In which-of-the-two therefore was this?

in Milone, qui est etiam nunc reus facti, aut  
in Milo, who is even now a defendant (for a deed, either

præclari, aut certe necessarii, an in Clodio, qui  
illustrious, or certainly necessary, or in Clodius, who

ita contempserat judicia que poenam, ut  
'has so 'despised courts-of-justice and punishment, that

nihil delectaret eum, quod esset aut fas per  
nothing delighted him, which might-be either allowed by

naturam, aut liceret per leges? Sed quid ego  
nature, or permitted by the-laws? But why 'do

argumentor? quid disputo plura?  
'bring-forward-arguments? why dispute (about so) many-things?

Appello te Q. Petili, optimum et fortissimum  
I-appeal-to you, O Q. Petilius, a most excellent and most-brave

civem; te, M. Cato, testor; quos  
citizen; 'I-call-on you, O. M. Cato, 'as witness; whom (both)

quædam divina sors dedit mihi iudices. Vos  
some divine chance has-given to-me (for) judges. You

audistis ex M. Favonio, Clodium dixisse  
have-heard from M. Favonius, (that) Clodius said

sibi, et audistis, Clodio vivo,  
to-himself, and you-heard (it), Clodius being (yet) alive, (that)

Milonem periturum triduo. Post tertium diem  
Milo would-die in-three-days. On the third day

res gesta est, quam dixerat. Quum ille non  
the affair took-place, which he-had-said. When he 'did not

dubitavit aperire, quid cogitaret, potestis vos  
'hesitate to-make-known, what he-thought, can you

dubitare, quid fecerit?  
doubt, what he-did?

17. Quemadmodum igitur dies non fefellit  
How therefore 'did the-day not 'deceive

eum?  
him? [How was he so certain of the day?] 'I-have indeed

modò dixi erat nihil negotii  
just explained (that) there-was nothing of-the-affair [no difficulty]

nosse stata sacrificia dictatoris Lanuvii. Vidit  
to-know the stated sacrifices of-the-dictator of-Lanuvium. He-saw

esse necesse Miloni proficisci Lanuvium,  
(that) it-was necessary for Milo to-go to-Lanuvium,

**illo ipso die, quo profectus est. Itaque**  
 on-that same day, on-which he-went. Therefore

**antevertit.** At quo die? Quo,  
 he-anticipated (Milo in his journey). But on-what day? On-that-day,

**ut dixi ante, fuit insanissima**  
 as I-have-said before, (on which) there was a most-furious

**concio concitata ab ipsius mercenario**  
 meeting-of-the-people stirred-up by his mercenary

**tribuno plebis; quem diem, quam concionem,**  
 tribune of-the-people; which day, which meeting,

**quos clamores, ille nunquam reliquisset, nisi**  
 which clamours, he-would never have-left, unless

**approperaret ad cogitatum facinus. Ergo**  
 he-were-hastening to (some) premeditated crime. Therefore

**quidem ne causa itineris illi, etiam**  
 (there was) indeed no cause of-a-journey for-him, (but) indeed

**causa manendi; nulla facultas Miloni**  
 a reason for-remaining (at home); (there was) no possibility for-Milo

**manendi, exeundi fuit non solum**  
 remaining (in the city, but for) departing there-was not only

**causa, sed etiam necessitas. Quid? si, ut**  
 a reason, but also a necessity. What (moreover)? if, as

**ille scivit, Milonem fore eo die in**  
 he knew, (that) Milo would-be on-that day on (his)

**viâ, sic Milo potuit ne quidem suspicari,**  
 journey, so Milo could not indeed suspect, (that)

**Clodium sic. Primum quæro, qui**  
 Clodius (would be) so. In-the-first-place I-ask, who

**potuerit scire? quod idem vos potestis non**  
 could have-known (it)? which same-thing you could not

**quærere in Clodio. Ut enim rogasset**  
 have-asked respecting Clodius. For though he-might-have-asked

**neminem alium, nisi suum familiarissimum T.**  
 no-one else, but his most-intimate-friend T.

**Patinum, potuit scire illo ipso die,**  
 Patinus, he-might have-known, (that) on-that same day,

**esse necesse flaminem prodi a Milone, Lanuvii,**  
 t-was necessary for-a-priest to-be-appointed by Milo, at Lanuvium,

dictatore. Sed erant permulti alii. ex  
 (as) dictator (thereof). But there were a great many others, from  
 quibus posset facillime sire id; scilicet omnes  
 whom he might very easily learn that; namely all  
 Lanuvini. Unde Milo quæsivit de reditu  
 the Lanuvians. Where 'did Milo 'inquire about the return  
 Clodii? Quæsierit sane. Videte, quid  
 of-Clodius? He may have inquired without doubt. See, what  
 largiar vobis. Etiam corruerit servum, ut  
 I-concede to-you. Also (that) he may have bribed a slave, as  
 Q. Arrius, meus amicus dixit. Legite testimonia  
 Q. Arrius, my friend said. Read the evidence  
 vestrorum testimonium. C. Cassinius Schola,  
 of-your witnesses. C. Cassinius Schola, (of)  
 Interamnanus, familiarissimus, et idem comes  
 Interamna, (his) most-intimate-friend, and the same a companion  
 Clodii, cujus testimonio Clodius  
 (and attendant) of-Clodius, whose testimony Clodius (had)  
 jampridem, dixit, P. Clodius fuerat  
 some-time-since (made use of), said, (that) P. Clodius was  
 eadem horâ Interamnæ et Romæ,  
 at-the-same hour at-Interamna and at-Rome, (and that)  
 Clodium mansurum fuisse illo die in Albano,  
 Clodius was-to-have remained on-that day in Alba,  
 sed subito nunciatum esse ei, Cyrum  
 but (that) suddenly it-was-announced to-him, (that) Cyrus  
 architectum esse mortuum; itaque repente  
 the architect was dead; therefore (that he) at-once  
 constituisse proficisci Romam. C. Clodius, item  
 resolved to-proceed to-Rome. C. Clodius, also  
 comes P. Clodii, dixit hoc.  
 an accompanying-companion of-P. Clodius, said this (same).

18. Videte, judices, quantæ res confectæ sint  
 See, O judges, how-many things are-determined  
 his testimoniis. Primum, Milo  
 (and made manifest) by-these depositions. First, Milo  
 certe liberatur, esse,  
 is certainly freed (from guilt), (for it is shewn) to-be, (that) he did

non profectus                      eo concilio, ut insidiaretur  
not                      go (from Rome) with-that intention, that he-might-waylay

Clodio in viâ; quippe; si non omnino  
Clodius on the road; certainly-indeed; since 'it-could not at all

erat                      ille      futurus      obvius      ei.      Deinde  
'be (supposed, that) he      was-about (to) meet him.      Next

(enim non video, cur non quoque agam  
for I-do not 'see, why 'I-may not also 'mention

neum negotium), scitis, judices, fuisse,  
my-own affair), you-know, O judges, (that) there-were (those),

qui dicerent, in suadenda hac rogatione  
who said, in advocating-and-urging this petition (and so

	cædem	factam esse	manu
tion against Milo, that)	the murder	was-committed	by-the-hand

**Milonis, vero consilio alicujus majoris.**  
of-Milo, but-indeed by-the-counsel of-some greater-personage.

Abjecti et perditiones homines describebant  
 1Did (these) abandoned and profligate men 1describe

me videlicet latronem ac sicarium. Hi  
me forsooth (as) a robber and an assassin. Those-men

jacent,                      suis    testibus, qui negant  
lie prostrate, (and convicted) by-their-own witnesses, who deny (that)

Claudium rediturum fuisse Romam eo die, nisi  
Claudius would-have returned to-Rome on-that day, unless

audisset de Cyro. Respiravi; liberatus sum;  
he-had-heard-of Cyrus. I-breathed-again; I-was-freed (from

non vereor, ne videar cogitasse  
anxiety); 'I-do not 'fear, lest-that I-may-seem to-have-thought

quod potuerim ne quidem suspicari. Nunc  
that-which I-could not indeed have-suspected. Now

persequar                      cetera.                      Nam illud  
I-will-proceed (with) the rest.                      For this (expression of theirs,

occurrit. Igitur Clodius ne quidem cogitavit  
occurs. Therefore Clodius 'did not indeed 'think

de insidiis, quoniam fuit mansurus in Albano.  
about snares, because he-was to-remain in Alba.

Si quidem non exiturus fuisset e  
(Granted) if indeed 'he-was not 'to-have-departed from (his)



villâ ad cædem. Enim video,  
 villa (in Alba) to (commit) a murder. For I-perceive, (that)  
 illum, qui dicatur nuntiasse de morte  
 he, who is-said to-have-brought-news concerning the death  
 Cyri, non nuntiasse id, sed Milonem  
 of Cyrus, 'did not 'announce it, but (that) Milo  
 appropinquare. Nam quid nuntiaret de  
 was-approaching. For what might-he-announce concerning  
 Cyro, quem Clodius proficiscens Româ, reliquerat  
 Cyrus, whom Clodius departing from-Rome, had-left  
 morientem? Fui unâ; obsignavi  
 dying? I-was together (with them); I-signed  
 testamentum simul cum Clodio; tamen  
 the will (as witness) together with Clodius; but 'he-had  
 palam fecerat testamentum, et scripserat et  
 openly 'made (his) will, and left both  
 illum et me heredem. Quem tertiâ horâ,  
 him and me (his) heirs. Whom at-the-third hour,  
 pridie, reliquisset efflantem animam,  
 the day-before, he-had-left breathing-out (his) soul, [at the  
 denique nuntiabatur ei  
 point of death,] 'would-it in-fine 'have-been-announced to-him  
 postridie eum mortuum decimâ horâ?  
 on-the-next-day (that) he died at the tenth hour?

19. Age, sit factum ita; quæ causæ  
 Well then, let-it-be done so; [be it so;] what reason  
 cur properaret Romam? cur conjiceret  
 (was there) why he-should-hasten to-Rome? why should-he-throw  
 se in noctem? quid  
 himself into the night? [why should he depart at nightfall?] what  
 afferebat causam festinationis?  
 brought (any) reason of-hastening? [what occasion of hurrying  
 quod erat heres? Primùm erat  
 was there?] what-because he-was heir? First there-was  
 nihil, cur esset opus properato; deinde, si  
 nothing, why there-should-be need (of) hastening; next, if  
 esset quid, quid tandem erat quod posset  
 there-was any, what indeed was-there that could

consequi, eâ nocte, autem amitteret,  
be-obtained, that night, which 'he-might (possibly) 'lose,

si venisset Romam mane postridie?  
if he-had-come to-Rome early-in-the-morning on-the-next-day!

Atque ut illi nocturnus adventus ad urbem  
And as for-him (Clodius) a nocturnal arrival in the city

fuit potius vitandus, quàm expetendus, sic fui  
was rather to-be-avoided, than to-be-sought-for, so it-wa

Miloni quum esset insidiator si sciebat  
for-Milo as he-was a waylayer (as you say) if he-knew

illum accessurum ad urbem noctu,  
(that) he (Clodius) would enter the city by-night,

subsidentum, atque expectandum fuit.  
that-he-should-stop, and wait (for him).

Occidisset noctu in insidioso loco, et  
He-would-have-killed [Clodius] by night in a suspicious place, and

pleno latronum; nemo non credidisset ei  
full of-robbers; no-one 'would not 'have-believed him

neganti, quem omnes volunt esse salvum, etiam  
denying (it), whom all wish to-be safe, even

confitentem. Primùm ille locus ipse, occultator  
confessing (it). First that place itself, the hiding-place

et receptor latronum, sustinuisset crimen;  
and receptacle of-robbers, would-have-borne the blame;

tum neque muta solitudo indicasset  
for-then neither the mute solitude would-have-announced

Milonem, neque cæca nox ostendisset; deinde  
Milo, nor the dark night have-shown-him; next

ibi multi violati ab illo,  
in-that-place many (who) had-been-violently-used by him, (many who)

spoliati, expulsi  
had-been-despoiled (by him), (many who) had-been-plundered (of their)

bonis; multi etiam timentes hæc caderent  
goods (by him); many even fearing this would-fall

in suspicionem; denique tota Etruria citaretur  
under suspicion; in-fine all Etruria would-have-been-cited

rea. Atque certe illo die, Clodius rediens  
as defendants. And certainly on-that day, Clodius returning

Aricâ devertit ad se, in Albanum. Quodd ut  
 from Arica turned-aside to-his-house, in Alba. Though as

Milo sciret, illum fuisse Aricæ, tamen  
 Milo might-know, (that) he had-been at Arica, however

debuit suspicari eum, etiamsi vellet  
 he-ought to-have-suspected, (that) he, although he-might-wish

reverti Romam illo die, deversurum ad suam  
 to-return to Rome on-that day, would-turn-aside to his

villam, quæ tangeret viam. Cur neque  
 villa, which touched (on) the road. Why 'did-he neither

occurrit ante, ille ne resideret in  
 'meet (him) before, (that) he 'might not 'be-seated in (his)

villâ, nec subsedit, in eo loco, quo ille  
 villa, nor lay-in-wait, in that place, where he

venturus esset noctu?  
 was-to-come by-night?

Video, iudices, adhuc omnia constare;

I-see, O judges, (that) thus-far all-things are-consistent; (that)

fuisse etiam utile Miloni Clodium vivere,  
 it-was even advantageous for-Milo (that) Clodius should-live,

illi interitum Milonis  
 (but that) for-him (Clodius) the death of-Milo (was)

optatissimum ad ea, quæ concupierat,  
 the-most-desirable (in respect) to those-things, which he-had-coveted;

odium illius acerbissimus in hunc,  
 the-hatred of-that-one (was) most-bitter against this-one, [Milo],

nullum hujus in illum,  
 (but there was) no-hatred of-this-one against that-one [Clodius], (that)

perpetuam consuetudinem illius  
 the constant habits (and occupation) of-that-one (was)

in vi inferenda, hujus tantum in repellenda;  
 in deeds of-violence, of-this-one only in repelling (them);

mortem ab illo Miloni, et palam  
 (that) death was-denounced by that-one to-Milo, and openly

prædictam, nihil unquam auditum  
 predicted, (that) nothing (of the kind) 'was ever 'heard

ex Milone; diem profectionis hujus  
 (coming) from Milo; (that) the day of-departure of-this-one

notum illi, reditûs illius  
 was-known to-that-one, (but that the day) of-return of-that-one  
 ignotum fuisse huic; iter hujus  
 was-unknown to-this-one; (that) the journey of-this-one (was)  
 necessarium, illius etiam potius alienum;  
 necessary, (but) of-that-one even rather inconvenient; (that)  
 hunc tulisse præ se, se exiturum  
 this-one bore before himself, [openly declared,] that he would-leave  
 Româ illo die, illum dissimulasse, se  
 Rome on-that day, (but) that-one had-dissembled, (that) he  
 rediturum, illo die; hunc mutasse  
 would-return (to-Rome), on-that day; (that) this-one 'had-changed (his)  
 consilium nullius rei,  
 counsel (in) no affair, [that Milo had in no wise altered the  
 illum finxisse causam  
 plan of his journey] (but) that-one had-feigned a reason (for)  
 mutandi consilii; huic, si insidiaretur,  
 changing (his) plan; (that) to-this-one, if he-were-waylaying,  
 noctem prope urbem expectandum, illi,  
 night near the city was-to-be-waited-for, (but) to-that-one,  
 etiamsi non timeret hunc, tamen nocturnum  
 although 'he might not 'fear this-one, yet a nocturnal  
 accessum ad urbem fuisse metuendum.  
 approach to the city was to-be-feared.

20. Nunc videamus id, quod est  
 Let-us now see that, which is  
 caput, utri, fuerit tandem ille  
 the-principal-thing, for-which-of-the-two, was really-in-fine that  
 locus ipse ubi congressi sunt, aptior ad insidias.  
 place itself where they-met, more-proper for ambushes.  
 Vero, iudices, id etiam dubitandum, et diutius  
 But, O judges, 'is that even 'to-be-doubted, and (any) longer  
 cogitandum est? Ante fundum Clodii, in quo  
 to-be-considered? Before the-farm of Clodius, in which  
 fundo propter illas insanas substructiones,  
 farm on-account-of those foolish foundations (and prepara-  
 tion of the ground for building), facile mille valentium  
 at-least a thousand strong

hominum versabatur; edito atque excelso loco  
men were-employed; on-the-raised and high ground

adversarii, Milo putarat se fore  
'of (his) 'adversary, 'did Milo 'think (that) he would-be

superiorem, et ob eam rem,  
superior, (or have a local advantage) and for that reason, 'had

potissimum elegerat eum locum ad pugnam? an  
especially 'selected that place for a fight? or (that)

potius expectatus est in eo loco ab eo, qui  
'he-was rather 'waited-for in that place by him, who

cogitarat facere impetum, spe  
had-thought to-make an attack, in-the-hope (and confidence)

ipsius loci. Res, iudices, loquitur ipsa,  
of-that-same place. The-thing, O judges, speaks (for) itself,

quæ semper valet plurimum. Si non audiretis  
which always avails much. If 'you-had not 'heard-of

hæc gesta, sed videretis  
these-things (as actually) performed, but had-seen (them)

picta, tamen appareret,  
delineated-in-a-picture, yet-however it-would-appear,

uter esset insidiator, uter  
which-of-the-two was the waylayer, which-of-the-two

cogitaret nihil mali, quum alter veheretur  
might-be-thinking of nothing evil, when the one was-riding

in rhedâ, pænulatus, uxor sederet  
in a carriage, having-on-a-cloak, (while his) wife sat

unâ. Quid horum non  
together (with him). Which of-these-things (was) not

impeditissimum? vestitus, an vehiculum  
the most-embarrassing? (his) dress, or (his) carriage

an comes? quid minus promptum ad  
or (his) companion? what (is) less adapted for

pugnam, quam irretitus pænulâ, impeditus  
fight, than being-entangled with-a-cloak, hampered

rhedâ, pæne constrictus esset uxore?  
with-a-carriage, (and) nearly bound by (his) wife

Videte nunc illum, primum  
staring to him)? Behold now that-man, [Clodius,] at-first



egredientem e villâ subitò; cur? vesperi;  
 coming from (his) villa suddenly; why? it-was-evening,  
 quid est necesse? tarde; qui convenit,  
 why is it necessary? slowly; (with) what propriety  
 præsertim id tempus? Devertit in Pompeiū  
 especially at-that time? He-turns-aside to Pompey's  
 villam, ut videret Pompeium? sciebat  
 villa, that he-might-see Pompey? he-knew (that)  
 esse in Alsiensi; ut perspiceret villam? fuerat  
 he-was in Alsiensis; that he-might-view the villa? he-had-been  
 in eâ millies; quid ergo erat? mora et  
 in it a thousand-times; what therefore was-it? delay and  
 tergiversatio; dum hic veniret, noluit  
 evasion; till he (Milo) came, he-did-not-wish  
 relinquere locum.  
 to-leave the place.

21. Age nunc, comparate iter expediti  
 Well now, compare the journey 'of (this) 'unencumbered

latronis cum impedimentis Milonis. Ille semper  
 robber with the hinderances of-Milo. He always

antea cum uxore; tum sine  
 before-this-time (travelled) with (his) wife; then (he was) without

ea; nunquam nisi in rhedâ; tum in  
 her; (and) never unless in a carriage; (but) then on

equo. Græculi comites  
 horseback. (His) trifling-Greek attendants, (who always accompanied

quocunque ibat, etiam quum properabat  
 him), wherever he-went, even when he-was-hastening

in Etrusca castra; tum in comitatu  
 in the Etruscan camp; (but) then in (his) retinue, (there were)

nihil nugarum. Milo, qui nunquam, tum  
 no triflers. Milo, who never (did so) then

casu ducebat uxoris symphonicos pueros,  
 by-chance had-with-him (his) wife's music boys,

et greges ancillarum. Ille, qui duceret semper  
 and crowds of-maid-servants. He, [Clodius] who had always

cum se scorta, semper exoletos,  
 with him prostitutes always (with him) infamous-men, (and)

semper lupas, tum neminem, nisi ut  
always (with him) lewd-woman, n, then none, unless as

diceres, esse virum lectum a viro.  
you-might-say, (that) there was man chosen by man. [That

Cur  
each man had selected his companion for a desperate enterprise.] Why

igitur, victus est? Quia viator non semper  
therefore, was-he-defeated? Because the traveller 'is not always

occiditur a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro  
'killed by the robber, (but) sometimes even the robber

a viatore; quia, quamquam Clodius  
(is killed) by the traveller; because, although Clodius

paratus in imparatos, tamen  
prepared (had attacked those) unprepared, yet (it was)

mulier inciderat in viros. Nec vero erat Milo  
a woman (who) encountered men. Nor indeed was Milo

unquam sic non paratus contra illum, ut  
ever so unprepared against him (Clodius) that

non esset fere satis paratus.  
'he-might not 'be (said to be) nearly sufficiently prepared.

Ille semper cogitabat, et quantum  
(For) he always thought, both how-much

interesset P. Clodii, se perire, et  
it-was-the-interest of-P. Clodius, (that) he (Milo) should-die, and

quanto odio esset illi,  
in-how-great hatred he-was to-him, [and how much Clodius hated him,]

et quantum ille auderet. Quamobrem,  
and how-much he dared (to do). Wherefore,

nunquam projiciebat suam vitam, quam sciebat  
'he never 'exposed his life, which he-knew

propositam maximis præmiis, et pæne addictam, in  
was-exposed to-the-highest price, and nearly sold, in

periculum, sine præsidio, et sine custodiâ.  
dange, without a protection, and without a guard

Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum,  
Add (to this) chance, add the uncertain result of-battles,

que communem Martem, qui sæpe evertit  
and the common-fortune-of-war, which often overthrows (him)

jam spoliantem, et exultantem, et  
 already despoiling, and exulting (over the enemy), and  
 perculit ab abjecto; adde inscitiam  
 drives (him) from (his) prostrate (foe); add the insufficiency  
 ducis oscitantis  
 of-a-commander (who has been made) listless (by having just)  
 pransi, poti, qui, quum reliquisset  
 dined, (and indulged in) drink, who, when he-had-left (his)  
 hostem interclusum a tergo, cogitavit nihil de  
 enemy cut-off in the rear, thought nothing about  
 ejus comitibus extremis, in  
 his attendants on-the-extreme (and surrounding parts), among  
 quos, incensos irâ, que desperantes vitam  
 whom, excited by-anger, and despairing (of) the life of (their)  
 domini, quum incidisset, hæsit in  
 master, when he-had-fallen, he-stuck-fast in, (and cou'd not  
 iis pœnis, quas fideles servi  
 escape from) those punishments, which faithful slaves  
 expetiverunt ab eo, pro vitâ domini. Cur  
 sought of him, for the life 'of (their) 'master. Why  
 igitur manumisit eos? Metuebat scilicet,  
 therefore did-he manumit them? He-was-afraid forsooth,  
 ne indicarent, ne  
 lest-that they-might-give-information (against him), and that 'they-could  
 non perferre dolorem, ne cogerentur  
 not 'support pain, and-lest-that-they-would-be-forced  
 tormentis confiteri, P. Clodium occisum esse a  
 by-tortures to-confess, (that) P. Clodius was-killed by  
 servis Milonis in Appiâ viâ. Quid opus est  
 the slaves of-Milo on the Appian road. What need is there of  
 torture? Quid quæris? Ne occiderit?  
 torture? What do-you-inquire-about? 'Was-he not 'killed?  
 Occidit. Jure an injuriâ? Nihil  
 He-was-killed. Lawfully or unlawfully? (This has) nothing  
 ad tortorem. Enim quæstio facti est in  
 (to do with) the torturer. For the-question of-that-fact (belongs to)



conservatores domini, ultores sceleris,  
 the preservers 'of (their) 'master, the avengers of crime,  
 defensores necis, dedendi fuerunt etiam  
 the averters 'of (his) 'death, would-have-to-be-surrendered ever  
 tormentis Vero hic, in his malis, habet nihil,  
 to-tortures. But he, in these misfortunes, has nothing,  
 quod ferat minùs moleste, quàm, etiamsi  
 has he-bears less anxiously (than this,) that, although  
 quid accidat ipsi, tamen meritum præmium  
 any-thing might-happen to-himself, yet a merited reward  
 persolutum esse illis. Sed quæstiones,  
 had-been-conferred (on) them [the slaves]. But the examinations  
 quæ nunc habitæ sunt, in  
 (of the slaves by torture,) which have just now been-had, in  
 atrio Libertatis, urgent Milonem. De quibusdam  
 the hall of-Liberty, press-hard against Milo. From what  
 servis? Rogas? de P. Clodii, quis  
 slaves? Do-you-ask? from (the slaves) of P. Clodius, who  
 postulavit eos? Appius. Quis produxit? Appius.  
 demanded them? Appius. Who brought-them-forth? Appius.  
 Unde? Ab Appio. Boni dii! quid potest  
 Whence? From the-house-of Appius. Good gods! what can  
 agi severius? est nulla quæstio lege de  
 be-done more-severely? there-can-be no examination by-law (of)  
 servis in dominum, nisi de incestu, ut  
 slaves against (their) master, unless concerning incest, as  
 fuit in Clodium. Clodius accessit proxime  
 was the case (with) Clodius. Clodius has-approached most-nearly  
 deos, propius quàm tum, quum penetraret  
 to-the-gods, more-nearly than then, when he-had-penetrated  
 ad ipsos, de  
 unto them, [when he had violated the mysteries of Bona dea] concerning  
 morte cujus quæritur tanquam de  
 the death of-this-man an-investigation-is-had, as if concerning  
 violatis cærimoniis. Sed tamen nostri majores  
 the violated sacred-rites. But however our ancestors  
 noluerunt de servo quæri in dominum,  
 would-not (allow) of a slave to-be-examined against (his) master.



non quia verum posset non inveniri, sed quia  
not because the truth could not be-discovered, but because

videbatur indignum, et tristius  
it-seemed improper, and more-sad (and distressing) to (their,

dominis, quàm morte ipsa. Quum quæritur de  
'masters, than death itself. When an examination-is-made of

servo accusatoris in reum, potest verum  
the slave of the accuser against the defendant, can the truth

inveniri? Vero age, quæ erat, aut qualis  
be-discovered? But come, what was-it, or how (was)

quæstio? Hæus tu, Rufio, causâ  
the examination (conducted)? Holloa you, Rufio, for-the-sake

verbi cave, sis,  
of-a-name [or example] take-care, if-you-please, (that) 'you-do (not)

mentiari. Clodius fecit insidias Miloni?  
tell-a-lie. Did Clodius lay snares for Milo? (should the

fecit. Crux certa  
slave answer) he-did. The cross (is) sure (to be his punishment, but

fecit nullas. Libertas sperata. Quid  
should he say) he-laid none. Freedom is-to-hoped-for. What

certius hac quæstione. Subitò abrepti  
(is) more certain (than) this examination. They-are suddenly taken-off

in quæstionem, tamen separantur a ceteris, et  
for an examination, however they-are-separated from others, and

conjiciuntur in arcas, ne quis possit colloqui  
thrown into cells, lest any-one might speak

cum iis. Hi quum fuissent centum dies penes  
with them. These when they-had-been a hundred days in the-power-of

accusatorem, producti sunt, ab eo ipso accusatore.  
the accuser, are-brought-forward, by that same accuser.

Quid potest dici integrius hac quæstione?  
What can be-said (to be) more-impartial (than) this examination?

Quid incorruptius?  
What more-incorruptible?

23. Quod si nondum cernitis satis  
Which if 'you-do not-yet 'see-this sufficiently (clear

quum res ipsa luceat, tot tam claris  
when the thing itself is-manifest, by so-many such clear

argumentis que signis, recordamini, per  
 proofs and indications, recollect, (*I entreat you*) by  
 immortales deos; Milonem revertisse Romam,  
 the immortal gods; (that) Milo had returned to-Rome,  
 purâ atque integrâ mente, imbutum nullo scelere,  
 with-a-pure and irreproachable mind, tainted with-no crime.  
 perteritum nullo metu, exanimatum nullâ cor  
 terrified with-no-fear, breathless-and-pale with-no cor  
 scientiâ; quæ fuerit celeritas ejus reditus, qui  
 scientificus-fear; what was the speed of-his return, who  
 ingressus in forum, curiâ ardente, quæ  
 entered into the forum, the senate-house being-on-fire, what  
 magnitudo animi, qui vultus, quæ oratio. Neque  
 greatness of-mind, what a countenance, what an oration. Nor  
 vero commissit se solùm populo, sed etiam  
 indeed did-he-commit himself alone to the people, but also  
 senatui, neque senatui modò, sed etiam publicis  
 to-the-senate, nor to-the-senate only, but also to-the-public  
 præsidiis et armis, neque his tantum, verùm etiam  
 guards and arms, nor to-these only, but-indeed also  
 potestati ejus, cui senatus commiserat totam  
 to-the-power of-him, to-whom the senate had-entrusted the entire  
 rempublicam, omnem pubem Italiæ, cuncta arma  
 republic, all the youths of-Italy, (and) all the arms  
 Romani populi; cui nunquam  
 (and forces) of-the-Roman people; to-whom 'he-would never  
 profectò tradidisset se, nisi confideret suæ  
 indeed 'have-given himself 'up, unless he-trusted to-his  
 causæ, præsertim, audienti omnia, metuenti  
 cause, especially (to him), hearing all, fearing  
 magna, suspicanti multa, credenti nonnulla. Magna  
 great-things, suspecting many, believing some. Grea  
 est vis conscientiæ, judices, et magna in utramque  
 is the power of-conscience, O judges, and great on both  
 partem, ut, qui  
 sides, (either of guilt or innocence) so that, those-who  
 commiserint nihil neque timeant, et qui  
 may-have-committed no (fault) do-not fear, and those-who

peccant, putent poenam semper versari  
have-done-wrong, think (that) punishment 'is always 'present

ante oculos. Neque vero,  
before (their) eyes [is always ready to overtake them]. Nor indeed,

sine certâ ratione, causa Milonis semper  
without certain (and good) reason, 'was the cause of Milo always

probata est a senatu. Enim sapientissimi  
'approved by the senate. For (these) most-wise

homines videbant rationem facti,  
men saw the reason (and lawfulness) of-the-deed,

præsentiam animi, constantiam  
the presence of mind, the constancy (and perseverance)

defensionis. Vero an, iudices, obliti estis, illc  
of defence. But 'have you, O judges, 'forgotten, the

nuntio necis Clodianæ recenti, sermones  
announcement of-the-murder (of) Clodius being-yet-recent, the language

et opiniones, non modò inimicorum, sed etiam  
and opinions, not only 'of (his) 'enemies, but also

nonnullorum imperitorum? Negabant,  
of some inexperienced (and ignorant persons)? They-denied,

eum rediturum esse Romam. Enim sive  
(that) he [Milo] would-return to Rome. For if-that

fecisset illud, irato ac percito animo, ut  
he-had-done that, in an angry and excited (state of) mind, that

incensus odio trucidaret inimicum, abitrabantur,  
inflamed by-hatred he-had-killed (his) enemy, they-thought,

eum putasse mortem P. Clodii tanti,  
(that) he would-consider the death of-P. Clodius of-so-much-account,

ut careret patriâ, æquo animo;  
that he-might-want (his) country, with-an-equal mind; [that he would

quum explesset suum odium  
contentedly go into banishment] since he-had-satiated his hatred

sanguine inimici; etiam sive voluisset liberare  
by-the-blood of (his) enemy; also if he-had-wished to-liberate

patriam morte illius fortem  
(his) country by-the-death of-that-man (Clodius, that he) a brave

virum non lubitaturum, quin, quum attulisset  
man 'would not 'hesitate, but-that, when he-had-brought

salutem reipublicæ, suo periculo, cederet legibus  
safety to-the-republic, by-his-own danger, he-would-submit to-the-laws

sequo animo; auferret cum se sempiternam  
with-a-resigned mind; (that) he-would-carry with himself everlasting

gloriam; relinqueret nobis fruenda hæc, quæ  
glory; (and) would leave us to-enjoy those-things, which

ipse servasset. Multi etiam loquebantur  
as-himself had-preserved (for us). Many also talked

Catilinam, atque illa portenta  
(concerning) Catiline, and those monsters (of-his-party say

“Erumpet, occupabit aliquem locum,  
ing, that” “He-will-break-out, he-will-occupy some place,

faciet bellum patriæ.” Miseros cives,  
(that) he-may-make war (on his) country.” O miserable citizens,

interdum meritos optime de republica, in  
(who) sometimes having-deserved most-well of the republic, in

quibus, homines non modò obliviscuntur præclarissimas  
whom, men not only forget the-most-renowned

res, sed etiam suspicantur nefarias!  
deeds, but even suspect (the most) nefarious (designs)!

Ergo illa fuerunt falsa; quæ certe exstitissent  
Therefore those-things were false; which certainly would-have-been

vera, si Milo admisisset aliquid, quod posset non  
true, if Milo had-committed any-thing, which he-could not

honeste que vere defendere.  
honestly and truly defend.

24. Quid? ut sustinuit, quæ  
(But) what (more? how) that he-bore (those charges), which

postea congesta sunt in eum quæ perculissent  
afterwards were heaped on him which would-have-struck-down

quemvis, etiam conscientia mediocrium delictorum,  
any-one, even with the consciousness of moderate offences,

immortales dii! sustinuit? immo vero  
immortal gods! did-he-bear (them)? yes indeed (it may

ut contempsit, ac putavit pro nihilo;  
be said) that he-despised-them, and considered them as nothing;

quæ neque nocens maximo animo, neque  
which neither a guilty-man with-the-most-resolute mind, nor

innocens, nisi fortissimus vir, potuisset negligere  
the innocent-man, unless a very-brave man, could have-neglected.

Indicabatur etiam multitudo scutorum, gladiatorum,  
It-was-intimated (that) even a-great-number of-shields, of swords,

frenorum, que pilorum posse deprehendi, dicebant,  
of-bridies, and of-javelins could be seized, they-said,

esse nullum vicum, nullum angiportum in  
(that) there-was no street, (or) no alley in

urbe, in quo non domus conducta esset  
the city, in which 'there-was not a house 'hired

Miloni; arma devecta Tiberi in villam  
for-Milo; (that) arms were-carried-on the Tiber 'to (his) 'villa (of)

Oriculanam; domus in Capitolino clivo referta  
Oriculum; (that his) house on the Capitoline hill was-filled

scutis; omnia plena malieolorum  
with-shields; (that) all (places) were-full of-fire-brands

comparatorum ad incendia urbis. Hæc non  
prepared for the burning of-the city. These things were not

solùm delata, sed pæne credita, nec repudiata sunt  
only reported, but nearly believed, nor were-they-repudiated

ante quàm quæsita. Equidem  
[disbelieved] before that they-were-investigated. 'I indeed

laudabam incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii; sed  
'praised the incredible diligence of-Cn. Pompey; but

dicam, ut sentio, iudices. Nimis multa  
I-will-say, that (which) I think, O judges. Too many-things;

coguntur audire,  
are-made-necessary to hear [too many things are required to be listened

neque possunt ii facere aliter, quibus tota  
to], nor can those do otherwise, to-whom the whole

respublica commissa est, cui fuerit etiam  
republic is entrusted, to whom [Pompey] it-was even

Licinius, nescio qui,  
(necessary that a certain) Licinius, I-know-not who, (but)

popa, de maximo circo,  
a-servant-and-attendant-on-the-sacrifices, from the great circus,

[where he kept an eating and drinking house for slaves, and few people]



**audiendus fuerit ;** **servos Milonis, factos**  
 should-be-heard ; (he stated, that) slaves of Milo, made  
**ebrios apud se, confessos esse sibi,**  
 drunk at his-house, had-confessed to-him, (that)  
**conjurasse de interficiendo Pompeio, dein**  
 they-had-conspired (together) about killing Pompey, after  
**postea, se percutsum esse gladio ab uno de illis,**  
 (which), (that) he was-struck with-a-sword by one of them,  
**ne indicaret. Nuntiavit Pompeio in**  
 lest he-might-give-information. (This) he-announced to Pompey at  
**hortos. Arcessor in primis. De sententiâ**  
 (his) country-seat. I-am-called-for especially. By the advice  
**amicorum defert rem ad senatum. Poteram**  
 'of (his) 'friends he-refers the affair to the senate. I-could  
**non, non exanimari metu, in tantâ suspitione**  
 not, but be-nearly-frightened-to-death by fear, in such a suspicion  
**illius custodis mei que patriæ, sed**  
 (of the danger) of-that guardian of-myself and country, but  
**mirabar tamen, credi popæ,**  
 I-wondered however, that-credit-should-be-given to-the-sacrificial-servant,  
**confessionem servorum audiri, vulnus in**  
 (that) the confession of slaves should-be-heard, (that) the wound in  
**latere, quod videretur acii punctum,**  
 the side, which seemed (to be given by) the point of a needle  
**probari pro ictu gladiatoris. Verum, ut**  
 should-be-taken for the stroke of-a-gladiator. But-truly, as  
**intelligo, Pompeius magis cavebat, quàm**  
 I-understand, Pompey 'acted more 'with precaution, than  
**timebat, non ea solùm quæ**  
 that-he-feared (anything), not those-things only which  
**timenda erant, sed omnia, ne**  
 were-to-be-feared, but all-things (are to be guarded against), lest  
**vos timeretis aliquid.**  
 you may-fear something [lest you may have cause for fear]  
**Nuntiabatur, domus C. Cæsaris, clarissimi et**  
 It-was-reported, (that) the house of C. Cæsar, a most-illustrious and  
**rtissimi viri, oppugnata per multas horas noctis.**  
 -brave man, was-assailed during many hours of-the-night

Nemo, tam celebri loco, audierat, nemo senserat;  
 No-one, in so conspicuous a place, had-heard (it), no-one perceived (it)  
 tamen audiebatur. Poteram non suspicari, Cn.  
 yet it-was-reported. I-could not suspect, (that) Cn.

Pompeium, virum præstantissimâ virtute timidum;  
 Pompey, a man of-most-distinguished courage (to be) timid

putabam nullam diligentiam nimiam,  
 (and) I-thought (that) no diligence (could be) too-great

susceptâ totâ republica  
 (in one) having-undertaken (the management of) the whole republic.

Nuper frequentissimo senatu, in  
 Lately in-a-very-full (meeting-of the) senate, (held) in

Capitolio, senator inventus est, qui diceret Milonem  
 the Capitol, a senator was found, who said (that) Milo

esse cum telo. Nudavit se  
 was with a weapon [was armed]. He-bared himself [by throwing

in sanctissimo templo, quoniam vita  
 back his clothes] in the-most-holy temple, because the life

et talis civis et viri, non faciebat fidem,  
 both of such a citizen and (such) a man, did not procure (him) credit.

ut, eo tacente, res loqueretur ipsa.  
 that, he being-silent, the thing might-speak (for) itself.

25. Omnia comperta sunt falsa atque insidiosae  
 All-things have-been-found (to be) false, and insidiously

ficta; quum tamen etiam nunc Milo metuitur.  
 devised; yet however even now Milo is feared. 'We-do

Non jam timemus hoc crimen Clodianum,  
 not at-present 'fear this accusation (respecting) Clodia,

sed tuas, Cn. Pompei, (enim jam appello te, et  
 but yours, O Cn. Pompey, (for 'I now 'address you, and

eâ voce, ut possis exaudire me) tuas, tuas,  
 with-such a voice, that you-may hear me) your, your,

inquam, suspiciones perhorrescimus. Si times  
 I-say, suspicions we-shudder-at. If you-fear

Milonem, si putas hunc aut nunc cogitare  
 Milo, if-you-think (that) he either now meditates (any

nefarie de tuâ vitâ, aut aliquando  
 thing) wickedly concerning your life, or that 'he-ever

molitum aliquid, si delectus  
 'attempted any-thing (against your life), if the-levying-of-troops  
 Italiae, ut nonnulli tui conquisitores  
 (throughout) Italy, as some of-your agents-to-enroll-troops  
 dietitarunt; si hæc arma si cohortes  
 have-frequently-asserted; if these arms, if (these) cohorts (in)  
 Capitolinæ, si excubiæ, si vigiliæ, si deleta  
 the Capitol, if (these) sentinels, if (these) watchmen, if the choser  
 juvenus, quæ custodit tuum corpus que domum,  
 youths, who guard your person and house,  
 armata est contra impetum Milonis; atque omnia  
 are-armed against an attack of-Milo; and all  
 illa sunt instituta, parata, intenta in hunc  
 these-things are instituted, prepared, (and) directed against this  
 unum, certe in hoc magna vis et  
 one (man), (there is) certainly in him a great power and  
 incredibilis animus, et vires atque opes indicantur  
 incredible courage, and forces and means are-indicated  
 non unius viri, si quidem et  
 not (in the possession) of-one man, if indeed both  
 præstantissimus dux, et tota respublica  
 the-most-eminent general, and the whole republic  
 armata est in hunc unum. Sed quis  
 is-armed against this one (man). But who (is there, that)  
 non intelligit, omnes partes reipublicæ, ægras  
 does not understand, (that) all the parts of-the-republic, feeble  
 et labantes, commissas esse tibi, ut sanares et  
 and tottering, were-committed to-you, that you-might-heal and  
 confirmares eas his armis? Quòd si locus  
 strengthen them by-these arms? That if an opportunity  
 datus esset Miloni profectò probasset tibi  
 had-been-given to-Milo 'he-had certainly 'proved to-you  
 ipsi, neminem hominem fuisse unquam  
 yourself, (that) no man was ever  
 cariorum homini, quàm te sibi; se  
 more-dear to-man, than you (were) to-himself; (that) he  
 unquam fugisse nullum periculum pro tuâ  
 at any-time avoided no danger for (promoting) your

dignitate; se sæpiissime contendisse cum illâ  
 dignity; (that) 'he had 'very-often contended with that  
 ipsâ teterrimâ peste, pro tuâ gloriâ; suum  
 same most-foul pest, for your glory; (that) his  
 tribunatum, gubernatum tuis consiliis,  
 tribuneship, governed by-your counsels, (was directed,  
 ad meam salutem, quæ fuisset carissima tibi;  
 to my safety, which was most-dear to-you; (that)  
 se postea defensum a te,  
 he 'was afterwards 'defended by you, (when he was)  
 in periculo capitis,  
 in danger 'of (his) 'life, [of conviction for a capital offence,]  
 adjutum in petitione præturæ;  
 (that) he-was-assisted (by you) in seeking the prætorship; (that,  
 se semper sperasse habere duos amicissimos,  
 'he always 'hoped to-have two most-friendly (to himself),  
 te tuo beneficio, me  
 you (on account of) your benefits (conferred on himself), me (on ac-  
 count of) his (services, rendered to me). Quæ si non  
 probaret, si ista suspicio ita penitus inhæsisset,  
 'proved, if this suspicion 'had so deeply 'taken-root,  
 ut posset nullo modò evelli, si denique Italia  
 that it-could in-no wise be-eradicated, if in-fine Italy  
 nunquam inquietura esset a delectu,  
 'was never 'to-rest from (these) levies-of-soldiers  
 urbs ab armis, sine clade Milonis,  
 (nor) the city from arms, without the destruction of-Milo,  
 nœ iste haud dubitans cessisset  
 certainly he without hesitating would-have-departed 'from his  
 patriâ, is, qui natus est ita, et consuevit  
 'country, he, who 'was-born (to do) so, and was-'customed-to-do  
 ita; tamen antestaretur te Magne,  
 so; however he-would-have-called-on you (to witness) O Magna,  
 quod nunc etiam facit.  
 (that he was innocent), which 'he now also 'does.

26. Vide, quàm varia, que commutabilis ratio  
 See, how various, and changeable the course

vitæ, quàm vaga que volubilis fortuna, quantæ  
 of-life, how uncertain and inconstant (is) fortune, what  
 infidelitates in amicitiiis, quàm simulationes aptæ ad  
 faithlessness in friendships, what dissembling suited to  
 tempus, in periculis, quantæ fugæ proximorum,  
 the times, in dangers, what desertion of-relations-and-friends,  
 quantæ timiditates. Erit, erit profectò  
 what timidity. There-will-be, there-will-be certainly  
 tempus, et ille dies aliquando illucescet, quum  
 a time, and that day 'will at-some-time 'appear, when  
 tu, tuis rebus, ut spero, salutaribus, sed fortasse  
 you, your affair, as I-hope, being-prosperous, but perhaps  
 aliquo motu temporum communium (qui  
 by-some commotion of-the-times common (to them) (which  
 quàm crebro accidat, experti debemus  
 how often it-may-happen, 'we-experienced 'ought  
 scire) desideres et benevolentiam amicissimi,  
 to-know) you-may-want both the-good-will of-the-dearest-friend,  
 et fidem gravissimi hominis, et  
 and the good-faith of-a-most-dignified (and influential) man, and  
 magnitudinem animi unius fortissimi viri, post  
 the greatness of-mind of-one of-the-bravest men, since  
 homines natos. Quamquam  
 men were-born. [The bravest man that ever lived.] Although  
 quis credat hoc, Cn. Pompeium, peritissimum  
 who would-believe this, (that) Cn. Pompey, most-skilled  
 publici juris, moris majorum, denique  
 (in) public law, the customs 'of (our) 'ancestors, (and) in-fine  
 publicæ rei, quum senatus commiserit ei,  
 (in) public affairs, when the senate had-entrusted to-him,  
 ut videret "ne respublica caperet quid  
 that he-should-see "lest the republic should-receive any (thing of)  
 detrimenti" quo uno versiculo consules semper  
 injury" by-which one short-line the consuls 'were always  
 satis armati fuerunt, etiam nullis armis datis,  
 sufficiently 'armed, even no arms being-given  
 hunc exercitu, hunc  
 (to them), (that) he (having) an army (given him), (that) he 'having



**delectu**                      **dato,**                      **expectaturum**  
 a levy-of-soldiers      'granted      (him),      would-wait  
 fuisse iudicium, vindicandis consiliis ejus, qui  
 for the-decision-of-a-court, in-punishing designs-of-that man, who  
 tolleret vi judicia ipsa? Satis  
 would-destroy by-force the courts themselves? It was sufficiently  
 iudicatum est, a Pompeio, satis ista  
 decided by Pompey, sufficiently-so (that) these-charges  
 falso conferri in Milonem, qui  
 were falsely 'brought against Milo, (and by Pompey), who  
 tulit legem, qua ut ego sentio oporteret  
 brought-forward the law, by-which as I think it-was-necessary  
 Milonem absolvi a vobis, ut omnes  
 (that) Milo should-be-acquitted by you, (and) as all  
 confitentur liceret. Verò quòd  
 confess it-might-be-allowed (for him to be so). But as  
 sedet in illo loco, atque circumfusus illis copiis  
 he-sits in that place, and surrounded by-those forces  
 publicorum præsidiarum, satis declarat, se  
 of-public guards, 'he sufficiently 'declares, (that) he  
 non inferre terrorem vobis (enim quid minus  
 does not 'bring fear to-you (for what less  
 dignum illo, quàm cogere, ut vos condemnetis  
 worthy (of) him, than to-force (you), that you should-condemn  
 eum, in quem ipse posset animadvertere, et  
 him, on whom he-himself could inflict-punishment, both  
 more majorum, et suo jure) sed  
 according-to-the-customs 'of (our) 'ancestors, and by-his right) but  
 esse præsidio ut intelligatis  
 (that this) is for-a-guard (to you) that you-may-understand (that)  
 lisere vobis judicare libere, quòd  
 it-is-allowed you to-pronounce-your-judgment freely, as  
 sentiatis, contra illam concionem histernam.  
 you-think, against that meeting (of) yesterday.

27. Nec verò iudices, crimen Clodianum

Nor indeed 'does, O judges, the accusation concerning Clodius

movet me, nec sum tam demens, que tam ignarus  
 move me, nor am-I so foolish, and so ignorant

atque expers                      vestri sensûs, quid sentiatis  
 and        devoid (of knowledge) of-your opinion, what you-think  
 de        morte Clodii.        De qua, si nollem jam  
 concerning the death of-Clodius.    Concerning which, if I-would-not now  
 ita diluere        crimen, ut        dilui,        tamen  
 so do-away (with) the accusation, as I-have-done-away (with it), yet  
        liceret Miloni palam clamare impune, ac  
 it-would-be-allowed Milo openly to-exclaim with-impunity, and  
 gloriose        mentiri:        "Occidi, occidi, non Sp.  
 boastingly to-tell-an-untruth: "I-have-killed, I-have-killed, not Sp.  
 Mælium, qui                      levanda  
 Mælius, who (attempting, or) being-about-to-lower (the price of)  
 annona, que jacturis                      familiaris rei, quia  
 provisions, and at-the-expense 'of (his) 'private fortune, because  
 videbatur        ampleti plebem nimis, incidit in  
 he-seemed (as) having-favoured the people too-much, he-fell under  
 suspicionem appetendi regni, non Ti. Gracchum,  
 suspicion of-seeking royalty-and-power, not Ti. Gracchus,  
 qui abrogavit magistratum                      collegæ per  
 who abrogated the magistracy (of his) colleague by  
 seditionem, interfectores quorum impleverunt orbem  
 sedition, the slayers of-whom filled the whole  
 terrarum gloriâ sui nominis; sed eum (enim  
 world with-the-renown of-their name; but him (for  
        auderet dicere, quum liberasset patriam  
 he-might-dare to-speak, since he-had-saved (his) country  
        suo periculo) cujus nefandum adulterium in  
 by-his-own danger) whose infamous adultery in  
 sanctissimis pulvinaribus, nobilissimæ feminae  
 the-most-holy shrines, most-noble women  
 comprehenderunt; eum, cujus supplicio, senatus  
 detected; him, 'by whose 'punishment, the senate 'had  
 sæpe censuit, sollemnes religiones expiandas;  
 often 'decreed, (that) solemn religious-rites ought-to-be-expiated;  
 eum, quem L. Lucullus juratus, dixit se  
 him, whom L. Lucullus having-sworn, said (that) he  
 comperisse, fecisse nefarium stuprum cum  
 had-discovered, (that) he-had-committed a nefarious incest with

germanâ sorore, habitis quæstionibus; eum,  
his-own sister, having-had an examination (of her slaves); him,

qui exterminavit, armis servorum, civem,  
who had-driven-into-exile, by-the-arms of-slaves, a citizen

quem senatus, quem Romanus populus, quem  
[Cicero], whom the senate, whom the Roman people, whom

omnes gentes judicarent conservatorem urbis  
all nations had-judged (to be) the preserver of-the-city,

ac vitæ civium; eum, qui dedit ademit  
and of-the-life of-the-citizens; him, who gave (and) took-away

regna, partitus est orbem terrarum cum  
kingdoms, (and who) divided the world with

quibus voluit; eum, qui, plurimis cædibus factis  
whom he-pleased; him, who, many murders being-committed

in foro, compulit domum vi et armis civem  
in the forum, drove to-his-house by-force and arms a citizen

singulari virtute et gloriâ;  
[Pompey] (distinguished) 'by (his) 'singular bravery and renown

eum, cui nihil fuit unquam nefas, nec in facinore  
him, to-whom nothing was ever forbidden, either in crime

nec in libidine; eum, qui incendit ædem  
or in lust; him, who set-fire to-the-temple

Nympharum, ut exstingueret publicam memoriam  
of-the-Nymphs, that he-might-destroy the public records

recensionis impressam publicis tabulis; eum denique,  
of-the-census impressed on-the-public tablets; him in-fine,

cui jam erat nulla lex, nullum civili jus, nulli  
to-whom now there-was no law, no civil right, ne

termini possessionum; qui petebat  
boundaries of-possessiones; who sought (to obtain possession of)

fundos alienos, non calumniâ  
the landed-estates (of) others, not by-the-quirks-and-chicanery

litium, non injustis vindiciis ac  
a-law-suits, not by-unjust legal-processes-and-claims and 'by (unjust)

sacramentis, sed castris, exercitu, inferendis  
oaths, but by-camps, by-an-army, (and) advancing

signis; qui conatus est pellere  
the standards; [by military attacks] who endeavoured to-drive-from

possessionibus, armis que castris, non solum  
(their) possessions, by-arms and camps, not only

Etruscos (enim penitus contempserat eos), sed  
the Etrurians (for 'he entirely 'despised them), but (also)

hunc P. Varium, fortissimum atque optimum civem  
this P. Varius, a most-brave and most-excellent citizen

nostrum judicem; qui peragraba.  
and) our judge (in this cause); who travelled-through

villas que hortos multorum cum architectis et  
the villas and gardens of-many with architects and

decempedis; qui terminabat spem suarum  
an-feet-measuring-rods; who bounded the hopes of-his

possessionum Janiculo et Alpibus; qui, quum  
possessions by-the-Janiculum and the Alps; who, when

non impetrasset ab M. Paconio, splendido  
'he-could not 'obtain from M. Paconius, an illustrious

et forti Romano equite, ut venderet sibi insulam  
and brave Roman knight, that he-would-sell him the island

in lacu Prilio, repente convexit in eam insulam  
in lake Prilius, suddenly conveyed to that island

lintribus materiem, calcem, cæmenta, arma,  
in boats timber, lime, small-stones-for-building, and tools,

non dubitavit extruere ædificium in alieno,  
'he-did not 'hesitate to-build a house on another-man's

que domino trans ripam inspectante; qui  
(ground), and the proprietor on the opposite shore looking-on; who

huic T. Furfanio, cui viro? immortales  
(dared to say) to this T. Furfanius, to-what a man? O immortal

dei; (enim quid ego dicam de  
gods; (but why 'should I 'mention (any thing) concerning

mulierculâ Scantiâ, quid de adolescente  
the woman Scantia, why (any thing) concerning the young-man

P. Apinio? utrique quorum minatus est mortem  
P. Apinius? both of-whom he-threatened (with) death

nisi cessissent possessione hortorum sibi),  
unless they abandoned the possession 'of (their) 'gardens to-himself),

sed ausus est dicere Furfanio si non dedisset  
but he-dared to-say to-Furfanius (that) if 'he-did not 'give

sibi pecuniam, quantam poposcerat, se  
him money, as-much-as he-might-have-asked-for, (that) he

illaturum mortuum in ejus domum, quâ invidiâ  
would-carry a dead-body in his house, by-which odium

conflagrandum esset tali viro huic;  
'a flame (of indignation) 'would-break-out against-such a man (as) this;

qui dejecit Appium absentem fratrem, hominem  
who turned Appius (his) absent brother, a man

conjunctum mihi fidissimâ gratiâ, de possessione  
united to-me by-the-most-faithful friendship, from the possession

fundi; qui instituit ducere parietem sic per  
'of (his) farm; who determined to-run a wall so through

vestibulum sororis, agere fundamenta  
the vestibule 'of (his) 'sister's (house), (and) to-lay the-foundation

sic, ut non modò privaret sororem vestibulo,  
so, that 'he not only 'deprived (his) sister (of her) vestibule,

sed omni aditu et limine."  
but (of) all access (to) and entrance by the threshold (of her house)."

28. Quamquam hæc videbantur jam quidem

Although these-things appeared then indeed (as)

tolerabilia, etsi æquabiliter irruebat  
tolerable, although 'he equally 'attacked (and violently

in rempublicam, in privatos, in  
rushed) (against) the republic, (against) private-persons, (against)

longinquas, in propinquas, in  
those-at-a distance, against neighbours (and those near), against

alienos, in suos; sed nescio quomodo  
strangers, (and) against his-own (relations); but I-know-not how

incredibilis patientia civitatis jam obduruerat  
the incredible patience of-the-state 'had then 'become-hardened

et percalluerat usu. Vero quæ jam  
and callous by-use. But (those things) which 'were already

aderant, et impendebant, quonam modo  
'present, and impended (over you), in-what manner

potuissetis aut depellere aut ferre ea? Si ille  
could-you either repel or bear them? If he

nactus esset imperium, omitto  
had-obtained-possession (of) the empire, I-omit (and say nothing of our)



socios, exterarum nationes, reges, tetrarchas; enim  
allies, foreign nations, kings, and tetrarchs; for

faceretis vota,

you-would-have-made vows, [you would have wished] 'that-he-would

potius immitteret se in eos, quàm in vestras  
rather 'have-turned (his) 'attention to them, than to your

possessions, vestra tecta, vestras pecunias; pecunias  
possessions, your houses, your money; money

dico? medius fidius, nunquam cohibuisset  
do-I-say? may Jupiter help me, 'he-would never 'have-restrained

suas effrenatas libidines a liberis, et a  
his unbridled lusts from (your) children, and from (your)

conjugibus. Putatis hæc fingi, quæ  
wives. Do-you-think (that) these-things are-feigned, which

patent, quæ sunt nota omnibus, quæ tenentur?  
are-evident, which are known to-all, which are-held (in

illum conscripturum fuisse, in  
our memory)? (was it not, that) he was-about-to-raise, in

urbe, exercitus servorum, per quos possideret totam  
the city, armies of-slaves, by whom he-might-possess the entire

republicam, que privatas res omnium? Quamobrem,  
republic, and the private fortunes of-all? Wherefore

si T. Annius tenens cruentum gladium clamaret.  
if T. Annius holding a bloody sword had-cried-out.

"quæso cives adeste atque audite P  
"I-entreat (you) O citizens draw-near and hear (that) P.

Clodium interfeci; ejus furores, quos jam  
Clodius has-been-killed; his furious-deeds, which heretofore

poteramus frenare nullis legibus, nullis judiciis,  
we-could restrain by-no laws, by-no courts,

repuhi a vestris cervicibus, hoc ferro et hac  
I-have-repelled from your necks, by-this sword and by-this

dexterâ, ut per me unum, jus, æquitas, leges,  
right-hand, that by me alone, right, equity, laws,

libertas, pudor, pudicitia manerent in civitate,"  
liberty, modesty, (and) chastity remains in the city,"

vero timendum esset quonam modo  
but it-would-have-to-be-feared (by Milo) in what manner

civitas ferret id! Enim nunc quis est,  
the city would-bear this (announcement)! For now who is-there,  
qui non probet? qui non laudet?  
who 'does not 'approve? who 'does not 'praise (what has been done)?  
qui, post memoriam hominum, non et dicat et  
who, since the memory of-man, 'does not both 'say and  
sentiat T. Annium unum plurimum profuisse  
think '(that) T. Annius alone 'did very-great 'service  
reipublicæ, affectisse Romanum populum,  
to-the-republic, (and) to-have-affected the Roman people,  
cunctam Italiam, omnes nationes maximâ  
all Italy, (and) all nations with-the-greatest  
lætitiâ? Non queo judicare, quanta fuerit illa  
joy? I am not 'able to judge, how-great may-have-been that  
vetera gaudia Romani populi. Tamen nostra ætas  
old joy of-the-Roman people. Although our age  
jam vidit clarissimas victorias summorum  
'has already 'seen the-most-celebrated victories of-the-greatest  
imperatorum, nulla quarum attulit neque tam  
commanders, (yet) none of-these-victories brought either such  
diuturnam, nec tantam lætitiâ. Mandate hoc  
lasting, or such-great joy. Commit these  
memoriæ, iudices. Spero vos, que vestros liberos  
to-memory, O judges. I-hope (that) you, and your children  
visuros esse multa bona; in republica;  
may-see many good-things (and happy days); in the republic;  
in singulis iis, semper ita  
as-respects each-one (of) these-things, 'you-will always so  
existimabitis, P. Clodio vivo, visuros fuisse  
'think, (that) P. Clodio being-alive, you-would-have-seen  
nihil eorum. Adducti sumus in maximam spem, et  
nothing of-them. We-have-been-led to the greatest hope, and  
quemadmodum confido, verissimam, hunc ipsum  
as I-confide, a most-true-hope, (that) this same  
annum, hoc ipso summo viro consule,  
year, this same eminent man (Pompey) (being) consul,  
licentiâ hominum compressâ, cupiditatibus  
the-heentiousness of-men being-repressed, (evil) desires

fractis, legibus et judiciis  
 seeing broken-and-put-down, the laws and courts 'being (fully  
 constitutis, fore salutarem  
 'established (in their authority), that-it-would-be a salutary (day)  
 civitati. Est num quis igitur tam demens, qui,  
 for-the-state. Is there then any-one therefore so foolish, who  
 arbitetur hoc potuisse contingere, P.  
 may think that this could happen (or be obtained), P.  
 Clodio vivo? Quid? quod jus perpetuæ possessionis  
 Clodius being-alive? What? what right of-perpetual possession  
 potuissent ea habere, quæ tenetis privata  
 could those things have, which you-hold (as) private (property)  
 atque vestra, furioso homine dominante?  
 and your-own, this frenzied man ruling?

29. Non timeo, iudices, ne inflammatus odio,  
 'I-do not 'fear, O judges, lest inflamed by-hatred,  
 mearum inimicitiarum, videar evomere  
 (arising from) my-own enmities, I-may-seem to-vomit-forth  
 hæc in illum libentius, quam verius. Etenim  
 these-charges against him more freely, than truly. For  
 etsi meum odium debebat esse præcipuum,  
 although my hatred (of him) ought to-be a principal thing,  
 tamen  
 (on account of the many and great injuries he inflicted on me), yet-however  
 ille erat ita communis hostis omnium, ut  
 he was so-much the common enemy of-all, that (my own  
 versaretur pæne æqualiter in  
 hatred seemed) to-be nearly equally (shared) in  
 communi odio. Potest non satis dici, ne  
 the general hatred. It-can not 'be sufficiently 'expressed, nor  
 quidem cogitari, quantum fuerit sceleris in illo,  
 indeed imagined, how-much there-was of-wickedness in him,  
 quantum exitii. Quin sic attendite,  
 how-much (there was) of-destruction-and-ruin. But thus pay-attention,  
 iudices. Nempe hæc est quæstio de  
 O judges. For-certainly this is an-investigation concerning  
 interitu P. Clodii. Fingite animis (enim nostræ  
 the death of-P. Clodius. Imagine 'in (your) 'minds (for our

cogitationes sunt liberæ, et quæ volunt sic  
 thoughts are free, and that-which they-wish 'they se  
 intuentur, ut cernimus, ea quæ videmus),  
 contemplate, that we-distinguish-and-know those-things which-we-see),  
 fingite igitur cogitatione imaginem hujus  
 form therefore 'by (your) 'thoughts the image of-this  
 mese conditionis, si possim efficere, ut  
 my condition, if I-could effect (this), tha  
 absolvatis Milonem, sed ita si P. Clodius  
 you-acquit Milo, but so and-provided-that P. Clodius  
 revixerit. Vultu quid extimuistis?  
 should-again-live. By (your) countenance what have-you-feared:

### Quonam modo

[Why is fear depicted in your countenances.] In-what manner 'would  
 ille vivus afficeret vos, quos mortuus  
 he alive 'affect (and move) you, whom he-being-dead  
 percussit, inani cogitatione?  
 'has (so) 'struck (and disturbed you) by-the-mere thought

Quid? si Cn. Pompeius ipse, qui est ea  
 (of him)? What? if Cn. Pompey himself, who is such

virtute ac fortunâ, ut semper potuerit  
 oy-courage and by-fortune, that 'he-was always 'able (to do)

ea, quæ nemo, præter illum, si is,  
 those-things, which no-one, except him, (could do), if he,

inquam, potuisset aut ferre questionem de  
 I-say, could either institute an investigation concerning

morte P. Clodii, aut excitare ipsum ab inferis,  
 the death of-P. Clodius, or raise him from the dead,

utrum putatis potius facturum fuisse?  
 which-of-the-two do-you-think 'he-would rather 'have-done?

Etiam si propter amicitiam vellet evocare illum  
 Although on-account of-friendship he-might-wish to recall him

ab inferis, propter rempublicam non  
 from death, (yet) on-account of-the-republic 'he-would not

fecisset Igitur sedetis ultores ejus mortis,  
 'have-done (it). Therefore you-sit (as) avengers of-his death,

ejus vitam, si puteis, posse restitui per  
 whose life. if you-thought, (that) it-could be-restored by

vos, nolitis, et de ejus necesse  
you, you-would-not (restore it), and concerning his death

quaestio lata est, qui si posset  
an investigation is instituted (by law), who if he could

revivescere eâdem lege, lex  
revive by-the-same law, the law 'would-have

nunquam lata esset. Ne ergo interfector  
never 'been-passed. 'Should then therefore the slayer

hujus, si esset timeret poenam, in confitendo,  
of-this-man, if he-were-it, 'fear punishment, in confessing,

ab iis, quos liberavisset? Homines Græci  
from those, whom he-had-freed? The men (of) Greece

tribuunt honores deorum iis viris, qui  
grant the honours of-the-gods to-those men, who

necaverunt tyrannos. Quæ ego vidi Athenis?  
have-slain tyrants. What 'have I (not) 'seen at-Athens?

quæ in aliis urbibus Græciæ? quas divinas res  
what in other cities of Greece? what divine ceremonies

institutas talibus viris? quos cantus? quæ  
have-been-instituted for-such men? what songs? what

carmina? Propè consecrantur et ad  
odes? 'They-are nearly 'consecrated both to

religionem et memoriam immortalitatis.  
religion and (to) the memory of-immortality. [They are

Vos non modò afficietis  
almost honoured as gods.] (And) 'do-you not only (not) 'reward

conservatorem tanti populi, ultorem tanti  
the preserver of-so-great a people, (and) the avenger of-such-a-great

sceleris nullis honoribus, sed etiam  
crime with (any) honours, but 'do-you even

patiemiini rapi ad supplicium? Confiteretur,  
'suffer (him) to-be-carried-off to punishment? He-would-confess

confiteretur, inquam, si fecisset, et magno  
he-would-confess, I-say, if he-had (done it), and with-a-great

animo et libente, se fecisse causâ  
mind and willingly, (that) he had-done (it) for-the-sake

libertatis omnium, quod esset non modò  
of-the-liberty of-all, which was not only



confitendum  
to-be-confessed

ei  
by-him

verùm  
but-indeed

etiam  
even

prædicandum.  
to-be-proclaimed.

30. Etenim si non negat id, ex quo petit  
For if <sup>1</sup>he-does not <sup>1</sup>deny it, from which he-seeks  
nihil, nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret fateri  
nothing, unless that he-may-be-pardoned, would-he-hesitate to-avow  
id, ex quo etiam præmia laudis petenda essent?  
that, for which even the reward of-praise were-to-be-demanded?  
nisi verò putat esse gratius vobis, se  
unless indeed he-may-think (it) to-be more-grateful to-you, (that) he  
fuisse defensorem sui capitis, quàm  
<sup>1</sup>should-be the defender of-his-own life, than the (defender)  
vestri; quum praesertim, in ea confessione si  
of-you; when especially, in that confession, if  
velletis esse grati, assequeretur amplissimos  
you-desire to-be grateful, he-would-attain-to the-most-ample  
honores; si factum non probaretur vobis,  
honours; if the deed <sup>1</sup>were not <sup>1</sup>approved-of by-you,  
(quamquam qui poterat non probari, cuiquam, sua  
(however who could not (but) approve, any-one, (for) his  
salus)? sed si tamen virtus  
safety) (obtained through him)? but if however the virtue  
fortissimi viri cecidisset minus grata  
of-a-very-brave man had-fallen-out (but) little agreeable <sup>1</sup>to (his fellow)  
civibus, magno que constanti animo cederet ex  
<sup>1</sup>citizens, <sup>1</sup>he with-a-great and constant mind <sup>1</sup>had-departed from  
ingratâ vivitate. Nam quid esset ingratus, quàm  
an ungrateful city. For what could-be more-ungrateful, than  
ceteros lætari, eum solum lugere,  
(that) others should-rejoice, (and that) he alone should-grieve,  
propter quem ceteri lætarentur? Quamquam semper  
through whom others rejoice? Although <sup>1</sup>we always  
fuimus omnes hoc animo, in  
<sup>1</sup>were all in-this mind (and opinion, that) in  
opprimendis proditoribus patriæ, ut quoniam  
putting-down traitors <sup>1</sup>to (their) <sup>1</sup>country, that because

gloria futura esset nostra, quoque  
the glory would-hereafter-be ours, (that) 'we should also

putaremus periculum et invidiam  
'think (that) the danger and odium (would also be)

nostram. Nam quæ laus tribuenda esset mihi  
ours For what praise would-have-been-given to-me

ipsi, quum ausus essem tantum in meo consulatu  
myself, when I-had-dared so-much in my consulship

pro vobis ac vestris liberis, si quum conabar id,  
for you and your children, if when I-undertook it,

arbitrarer me ausurum esse, sine meis maximis  
I-thought (that) I might-attempt (it), without my greatest

dimicationibus? Quæ mulier non auderet  
contests-and-struggles? What woman (that) 'would not 'dare

occidere sceleratum ac perniciosum civem, si  
to-kill a wicked and pernicious citizen, if 'she-did

non timeret periculum? Invidiâ, morte, poenâ  
not 'fear the danger? Odium, death, punishment

proposita, qui nihilo segnius  
'being-placed-before (any one), (yet) he-who not-the-less tardily (for that)

defendit rempublicam, is vere putandus est vir.  
defends the republic, he 'is truly 'to be-considered a man.

Est grati populi affiere præmiis cives,  
It-is (the part) of-a-grateful people to-reward citizens, (who)

meritos bene de republica, fortis viri,  
have-deserved well of the republic, (it is the part) of-a-brave man,

ne quidem moveri suppliciis, ut poeniteat  
not even to-be-moved by-punishments, (so) that he-may-repent (that,

fecisse fortiter. Quamobrem T. Annius uteretur  
he-acted bravely. Wherefore T. Annius may-make-use

eâdem confessione, qua Ahala, qua  
(of) the same confession (and declaration), of-which Ahala, of-which

Nasica, qua Opimus, qua Marius, qua nosmet  
Nasica, of-which Opimus, of-which Marius, of-which we

ipsi et si respublica esset grata  
ourselves (have each made use of) (that) if the republic were grateful

lætaretur, si ingrata, tamen in gravi fortunâ  
 he-would-rejoice, if ungrateful, however in (his) adverse fortune  
 niteretur suâ conscientiâ.  
 he-would-rest (and depend) on his conscience (for support and consolation).

Sed, iudices, fortuna Romani populi, et vestra  
 But, O judges, the good-fortune of-the-Roman people, and your  
 felicitas et immortales dii putant deberi sibi  
 happiness and the immortal gods think (that) they-owe him  
 gratiam hujus beneficii. Nec

[Milo] gratitude (for) this favour (of destroying Clodius). Nor  
 verò potest quisquam arbitrari aliter, nisi qui  
 indeed can any-one think otherwise, unless he-who

ducit esse nullam vim, ve divinum  
 thinks (that) there is no divine power, no divine

numen, quem neque magnitudo nostri  
 influence-and-providence, whom neither the greatness of-our

imperii, neque ille sol, nec motus Cœli que  
 empire, neither that sun, nor the motions of-the-heavens and

signorum, nec vicissitudines rerum, atque ordines  
 of-the-signs, nor the vicissitudes of-things, and (their) order

movent, neque id quod est maximum, sapientia  
 move, nor that which is the greatest, the-wisdom

majorum, qui, et ipsi sanctissime  
 'of (our) 'ancestors, who, and they-themselves most-holily

coluerunt sacra, qui cerimonias,  
 observed the sacred (institutions), who (also) the ceremonies-and-rites

qui auspicia, et prodiderunt  
 (of religion), who (also) the auspices, and transmitted (them);

nobis suis posteris.  
 to-us their posterity.

81. Est, profectò est illa vis, neque in  
 There-is, 'there certainly 'is that power, nor-only in  
 his corporibus, atque in hac nostrâ imbecillitate  
 these bodies, and in this our weakness

inest quiddam, quod vigeat et sentiat, et inest  
 there-is something-within, which is-vigorous and thinks, and is

non in hoc tanto tam præclaro  
 not [and it is also much more so] in this so-great so glorious

**motu naturæ.** Nisi forte idcirco non putant  
 motion of nature. Unless perhaps for-that-reason 'they-do not 'think

quia apparet non, nec cernitur; proinde  
 (it to exist) because it-does-not-appear, nor is-seen; consequently

quasi possimus, aut plane videre, aut sentire  
 as-if we could, either clearly see (our mind), or feel

qualis, ubi sit, nostram mentem  
 what (it might be, or) where it might be, (that is) our mind

ipsam, qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua  
 itself, by-which we-are-wise, by-which we-have-foresight, by-which

agimus ac dicimus hæc ipsa. Ea igitur  
 we-do and say those very-same-things. That therefore (is)

ipsa vis, quæ sæpe attulit huic urbi incredibiles  
 the same power, which often has-brought to-this city incredible

felicitates atque opes; extinxit ac  
 prosperity and wealth (and power); it-destroyed and

sustulit illam perniciem, cui primum  
 removed that calamity [of Clodius], to-whom (it) first

injecit mentem, ut auderet  
 threw-into (his) mind, [it first inspired Clodius] that he-should-dare

irritare vi, que lacerare ferro fortissimum  
 to-irritate by-violence, and to-attack with-the-sword a-most-brave

virum, que vinceretur ab eo, quem si vicisset,  
 man, and he-was-conquered by him, whom if he-had-conquered,

habiturus esset sempiternam impunitatem et  
 he-would-have-had uninterrupted impunity and

licentiam. Illa res perfecta est, judices, non humano  
 licentiousness. That thing was-accomplished, O judges, not by-human

consilio, ne quidem mediocri immortalium  
 counsels, nor indeed by-the-ordinary (counsels) of-the-immortal

deorum. Mehercule Religiones ipsæ, quæ  
 gods. By-Hercules the sacred-places themselves, which

viderunt illam belluam cadere, videntur, se  
 saw that monster fall, seem, (that) they

commovisse, et retinuisse suum jus  
 were moved, and to-have-maintained-and-defended their right

in illo. Enim jam imploro atque testor  
 ever him. For 'I now 'implore and 'call on

vos, vos, inquam, Albani tumuli atque  
 you 'to-wit'ness, you, I-say, O Alban mounts and

luci, que vos obrutæ aræ Albanorum sociæ  
 groves, and you O destroyed altars of-the Albans, the-associates

et æquales Romani populi, sacrorum, quas ille,  
 and equals of-the-Roman people, (in) the-sacred-rites, which he

præceps amentia, sanctissimis lucis,  
 (and his) headlong folly, the-most-holy groves,

cæsis que prostratis, oppresserat  
 being-cut-down and prostrated, had-oppressed (and buried)

insanis molibus substructionum; tum vestræ aræ,  
 by (his) insane masses of-substructures; then your altars,

vestræ religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit,  
 (then) your religious-rites flourished, your power prevailed,

quam ille polluerat omni scelere, que tu, sancte  
 which he had-polluted with-every crime, and you, O sacred

Jupiter Latiaris, ex tuo edito monte, cujus locus,  
 Jupiter Latiaris, from your high mountain, whose lakes,

nemora, que fines ille sæpe macularat omni  
 groves, and boundaries he 'had often 'defiled by-every

nefario stupro et scelere, aliquando aperuisti  
 wicked lust and crime, 'have at-length 'opened (your)

oculos ad puniendum eum; vobis, vobis in vestro  
 eyes to punish him; to-you, te-you in your

conspectu, illæ seræ, sed tamen justæ, et debita  
 view, those late, but however just, and due

pœnæ solutæ sunt.  
 punishments have-been-paid (in atonement for such great crimes)

Nisi forte dicemus hoc etiam factum esse  
 Unless perhaps we-say (that) this also was-done

casu; ut ante sacrarium ipsum Bonæ Deæ, quod  
 by-chance; that before the shrine itself of Bona Dea, which

est in fundo T. Sestii, in primis honesti et  
 is in the-farm of T. Sestius, especially an honourable and

ornati adolescentis, ante ipsam Bonam Deam,  
 accomplished young-man, before that-same Bona Dea,

inquam, quum commisisset prælium, acciperet illud  
 I-say, when he-had-begun the battle he-received that



primum vulnus, quo obiret teterrimam mortem,  
 first wound, by-which he-died a most-shameful death.  
 ut videretur non absolutus, illo nefario iudicio,  
 that he-seemed not acquitted, by-that iniquitous trial,  
 sed reservatus ad hanc insignem pœnam.  
 but reserved for this conspicuous punishment.

32 Nec vero non, eadem ira deorum  
 [Nor indeed not], and indeed the same anger of-the-gods

injecit hanc amentiam in ejus satellitibus, ut  
 excited this folly in his followers, that

abjectus ambureretur, sine  
 he-was-thrown-out (after) he-was-half-burnt, without (ancestral)

imaginibus, sine cantu atque  
 images, without (a funeral) song and (without funeral)

ludis, sine exsequis, sine lamentis, sine  
 games, without funeral-rites, without lamentations, without

laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus cruore et luto,  
 praises, without a funeral, besmeared with-blood and mud,

spoliatus celebritate illius supremi  
 deprived of-the-solemn-concourse (and honours) of-that last

diei, cui etiam inimici solent cedere. Credo  
 day, to-which even enemies are-accustomed to-accede. I-believe

fuisse non fas formas  
 (that) it-was not allowed (by the will of the gods), (that) the-images

clarissimorum virorum afferre aliquid decoris  
 of-the-most-illustrious men could-bring any-thing of-ornament

illi teterrimo parricidæ, neque in ullo  
 (and honour) to-that most-foul parricide, nor in any

loco ejus mortem lacerari potius,  
 place (that) his death [his dead body] might-be-lacerated rather,

quam in quo vita damnata esset.  
 than in that-which his life had-been-condemned.

Medius fidius, fortuna Romani populi

May Jupiter help me, (but) the fortune of-the-Roman people 'dixit

jam videbatur mihi dura et crudelis, quæ  
 heretofore 'appear to-me hard and cruel, which

pateretur illum, tot annos insultare  
 suffered him, for-so-many years to-insult (and attack)

in hanc rempublicam. Polluerat sanctissimae  
 this republic. He-had-polluted the-most-holy  
 religiones stupro, perfregerat gravissima  
 religious-rites with (his) lust, he-had-broken the most-weighty  
 decreta senatûs, palam redemerat se a  
 decrees of-the-senate, 'he-had openly 'freed himself from  
 iudicibus pecuniâ, in tribunatu, vexarat  
 the judges by-money, in (his) tribuneship, he-had-harassed  
 senatum, resciderat gesta, consensu  
 the senate, he-had-rescinded acts-passed, by-the-consent  
 omnium ordinum pro salute reipublicæ, expulerat  
 of-all the orders for the safety of-the-republic, he-had-expelled  
 me patriâ, diripuerat bona,  
 me 'from (my) 'country, he-had-plundered (my) property,  
 incenderat domum, vexarat meam  
 he-had-burned (my) house, he-had-ill-treated my  
 conjugem, liberos, indixerat nefarium bellum  
 wife (and) children, he-had-declared a-wicked war  
 Cn. Pompeio, effecerat cædes magistratuum  
 against Cn. Pompey, he had-made slaughter of-magistrates  
 que privatorum, incenderat domum mei  
 and of-private-persons, he-had-burned the house of-my  
 fratris, vastarat Etruriam, ejecerat multos  
 brother, he-had-laid-waste Etruria, he-had-ejected many  
 sedibus ac fortunis; instabat, urgebat;  
 'from (their) 'homes and possessions; he-pressed, he-urged;  
 civitas, Italia, provinciæ, regna poterant non  
 the city, Italy, the provinces, the kingdom could not  
 capere ejus amentiam; leges jam  
 contain his folly; the laws 'were already  
 incidebantur domi, quæ addicerent nos  
 'engraved (on brass) at-his-house, which were-to-subject us  
 nostris servis; erat nihil cujusquam,  
 o-our slaves; there-was nothing of-any-one, [belonging to any  
 one] quod quidem ille adamasset, quod non  
 putaret fore suum hoc anno. Nemo obstabat  
 'think would-be his this year. No-one was-an-obstacle

ejus cogitationibus, præter Milonem.  
 to his 'thoughts (and expectations), except Milo.

Arbitrabatur illum ipsum, qui poterat  
 He-thought (that) that same-person, [Pompey,] who could

obstare, novo reditu  
 (resist, and) be-an-obstacle (to him), 'would by-the-same return

in gratiam quasi devinctum;  
 to favour (and friendship) 'be as-it-were 'bound (to him);

dicebat potentiam Cæsaris esse suum;  
 he-said (that) the power of-Cæsar was his; the (good-will and)

animos bonorum in meo casu contempserat,  
 minds 'of (all) 'good-men in my cause he-despised;

Milo unus urgebat  
 Milo (was) the only-one (that) pressed-hard (on him).

33. Hic immortales dii, ut dixi supra, dederunt  
 Here the immortal gods, as I-have-said above, gave

mentem illo perduto ac furioso, ut  
 the mind 'to [inspired] 'that abandoned and furious-man, that

faceret insidias huic. Illa pestis  
 he-should-lay snares for-this-man. [Milo.] That pest (and wicked

potuit non aliter perire; nunquam  
 man) could not otherwise have-perished; (for) never would

respublica ulta esset illum suo jure.  
 the republic have-punished him by-their-own right (and laws).

Senatus, credo, circumscripsisset eum  
 The senate, I-suppose, would-have-circumscribed (and restrained) him

prætorem. Ne quidem quum solebat  
 (when) prætor. Not-even indeed when it-was-accustomed

facere id, profecerat aliquid  
 to-do this (with the magistrates), had-it-accomplished any-thing

hoc eodem, in privato.  
 (of the kind) with-this same-person, [Clodius] in private-life.

An fuissent consules fortes in coercendo  
 Whether 'would the consuls 'have-been vigorous in restraining

prætore? Primùm, Milone occiso, habuisset  
 the prætor? In-the-first-place, Milo-being-killed, he-would-have-had

suos consules; deinde quis consul, in  
 his-own consuls; in-the-next-place what consul, on

eo prætore, esset fortis  
 this (Clodius) (being) prætor, would-have-been courageous (enough  
 per quem tribunum, meminisset  
 to resist him), by whom (when) tribune, he-may-have-remembered,  
 consularem virtutem esse crudelissime vexatam?  
 (that) the consular dignity was most-cruelly harassed?  
 Oppressisset omnia possideret teneret;  
 He-had-oppressed all (that) he-might-possess (and) hold (all),  
 novâ lege, quæ inventa est apud eum, cum reliquis  
 by-the-new law, which was found with him, with the other  
 Clodianis legibus, fecisset nostros servos suos  
 Clodian laws, he-would-have-made our slaves his  
 libertos. Postremo, nisi immortales dii impulissent  
 freedmen. Lastly, unless the immortal gods had-impelled  
 in eam mentem, ut effeminatus homo  
 into that mind, [had inspired him], that (he) an effeminate man  
 conaretur occidere fortissimum virum, hodie  
 should-attempt to-kill a-most-brave man, to-day  
 haberetis nullam rempublicam. An ille  
 you-would-have no republic. Whether he (as)  
 prætor, ille verò consul, si modò, eo vivo,  
 prætor, he indeed (as) consul, if indeed, he being-alive,  
 hæc templa, atque mœnia ipsa potuissent stare  
 these temples, and the walls themselves could-have stood  
 tamdiu, et expectare ejus consulatum, denique  
 so-long, and waited-for his consulship, in-fine  
 ille vivus fecisset nihil mali, qui mortuus  
 'would he alive 'have-done nothing bad, who dead  
 incenderit curiam uno ex suis satellitibus,  
 burned the senate-house by-one from-among his satellites,  
 Sex. Clodio duce? Quo quid miserius,  
 Sex. Clodius being-the-leader? Than-this what more-miserable,  
 quid acerbius, quid luctuosius vidimus?  
 what more-grievous, what more-lamentable have-we-seen?  
 Templum sanctitatis amplitudinis, mentis,  
 (That) the temple of-sanctity of-dignity, of-mind (and  
 publici consilii, caput urbis, aram  
 wisdom), of-public counsels, the head of-the-city, the altar

sociorum, portum omnium gentium, sedem  
of-the-allies, the harbour of-all nations, the seat

concessam ab universo populo uni ordini  
granted by the entire people to-one order (of the state),

inflammari, excindi, funestari? neque  
to-be-set-on-fire, to-be-destroyed, to-be-polluted? nor (that)

id fieri a(b) imperitâ multitudine, quamquam id  
this was-done by a senseless mob, although this

ipsum esset miserum, sed ab uno? Qui  
same would-have-been lamentable, but by one-person? Who

quam ustor pro mortuo ausus sit tantum,  
when (only) a burner for the-dead may-have-dared so-much,

quid non ausus esset signifer pro  
what 'would-he not 'have-dared (as) standard-bearer for

vivo? Potissimum abjecit in curiam,  
the living? 'He above-all 'threw (him) into the-senate-house,

ut mortuus incenderet eam quam vivus  
that dead he-might-set-on-fire that which alive

everterat. Et sunt, qui querantur  
he-had-overthrown. And are-there (persons), who complains

de Appiâ viâ, taceant de  
concerning (the affair on) the Appian road, (but) are-silent concerning

curiâ? et qui putent ab eo spirante  
the-senate-house? and who may-think (that) against him breathing

forum potuisse defendi, cujus cadaveri  
(and alive), the forum could have-been-defended, whose dead-body

curia non restiterit. Excitate, excitate  
the senate-house 'could not 'resist. Resuscitate, resuscitate

ipsum, si potestis a mortuis. Frangetis  
himself, if you-can from the-dead. Will-you-break

impetum vivi, cujus furias vix sustinetis  
the-shock-of-him alive, whose violence 'you-can scarcely 'sustain

insepulti? Nisi vero sustinuistis  
unburied? Unless indeed you-could-have-sustained (and resisted),

eos, qui concurrerunt ad curiam cum  
these-men, who ran to the-senate-house with

facibus, cum falcibus ad Castoris,  
torches, with scythes to (the temple) of-Castor, (and who)



volitarunt toto foro cum gladiis. Vidistis  
 ran-through the whole forum with swords. You-saw

Romanum populum cædi, concionem  
 the Roman people slaughtered, a meeting of the citizens

disturbari gladiis, quum silentio M. Cælius  
 disturbed by-swords, when in-silence M. Cælius

audiretur, tribunus plebis, vir fortissimus et  
 was-listened-to, a tribune of-the-people, a man most-brave both

in republica, et firmissimus in causâ  
 in (the affair of) the republic, and most-firm in the cause

susceptâ et deditus voluntati bonorum, et  
 undertaken (by him) and devoted to the will of-the-good, and

auctoritati senatûs, et divinâ et incredibili fide,  
 to-the-authority of-the-senate, and of divine and incredible fidelity

sive in hac invidiâ, sive singulari fortunâ Milonis.  
 either in this odium, or singular fortune of Milo.

34. Sed jam satis multa de  
 But already sufficiently enough (has been said) concerning

causâ, etiam extra causam, fortasse  
 the cause (and) also beyond (or foreign) to-the-cause, perhaps

nimis multa. Quid restat, nisi ut orem que obtester  
 too much. What remains, unless that I-pray and entreat

vos, judices, ut tribuatis eam misericordiam  
 you, O judges, that you-may-grant that mercy

fortissimo viro, quam ipse non implorat,  
 to-a-most-brave man, which he-himself 'does not implore,

ego, etiam, hoc repugnante, et imploro et  
 (which) I, even, he opposing, both implore and

exposco? Nolite, si, in omnium nostro  
 demand? Do-not, if, in (the midst) of all our

fletu, adpexistis nullam lacrimam Milonis, si  
 weeping, you-saw no tear of-Milo, if (his)

vultum semper eundem, si videtis vocem, si  
 countenance (is) always the same, if you-perceive (his) voice, if

orationem stabilem, ac non mutatam,  
 (his) discourse steady, and not changed (or faltering),

minus hoc parcere ei  
 (do not) the-less on-this 'account be inclined to) spare him.

**Haud** scio, **an** **etiam** **multò**  
 I-do not 'know, whether 'he-ought (not) even (so) much  
**magis** **adjuvandus sit.** **Etenim** **si** **in**  
 the more 'to-be-assisted (on that account). For if in

**gladiatoriiis pugnis, et in conditione infimi generis**  
 gladiatorial contests, and in the condition of-the-lowest classes

**hominum atque fortunâ, etiam solemus**  
 of-men and (lowest) fortune, 'we-are even 'accustomed

**odisse timidos, atque supplices, et obsecrantes,**  
 to-hate the timid, and suppliant, and (those) entreating,

**ut liceat vivere; cupimus servare**  
 that it-may-be-allowed (them) to-live; (but) we-wish to-save

**fortes et animosos, et acriter offerentes**  
 the brave and courageous, and (those) eagerly offering

**se ipsos morti; que miseret nos magis eorum,**  
 themselves to-death; and it-pities us most of them,

**qui non requirunt**  
 [we feel the greatest compassion for those] who 'do not 'ask-for

**nostram misericordiam, quàm qui efflagitant illam,**  
 our pity, than those-who entreat it,

**quantò magis debemus facere hoc in fortissimis**  
 how much more ought-we (not) to-do this for most-brave

**civibus? Hæ voces Milonis, quas assidue audio,**  
 citizens? These expressions of-Milo, which 'I continually 'hear

**et quibus quotidie intersum,**  
 and 'to (the utterance of) 'which 'I-am daily 'present,

**quidem, judices, exanimant et interimunt me.**  
 do indeed, O judges, 'discourage and overcome me.

**“Valeant,” inquit, “mei cives valeant;**  
 “May-they-flourish,” says-he, “may my citizens flourish (and fare well);

**sint incolumnes, sint florentes, sint beati;**  
 may-they-be safe, may-they-be prosperous, may-they-be happy;

**hæc præclara urbs, que patria carissima mihi**  
 may this illustrious city, and country most-dear to-me

**stet, quoquo modo merita erit de me;**  
 (long) 'stand, in-what-ever manner it-may-have-merited of me;

**mei cives ipsi (quoniam non licet mihi**  
 'may my fellow-citizens themselves (since 'it-is not allowed me

cum illis) perfruantur tranquillâ republica  
 (to enjoy it) with them) 'enjoy a quiet republis  
 sine me, sed tamen per me; ego cedam  
 without me, but however (acquired) through me; I will-retire  
 atque abibo; si non licuerit mihi frui bonâ  
 and depart; if 'it-has not 'been-allowed me to-enjoy a-good  
 republica, ut carebo malâ, et primam  
 republic, at-least I-shall-be-absent-from a bad-one, and the first  
 civitatem tetigero, quam bene moratum et  
 city I-shall-have-arrived-at, which (is) well regulated and  
 liberam, in ea conquiescam. O frustra," inquit,  
 free, in that will-I-rest. O (how) vain," says-he,  
 "mei labores suscepti; O fallaces  
 (are) "my labours (that I have) undertaken; O (how) fallacious  
 spes; O inanes menses  
 (have been my) hopes; O (how) empty (have been) my  
 cogitationes! Ego quum tribunus plebis,  
 thoughts! I when (I was) tribune of-the-people,  
 republica oppressâ, dedissem me senatui,  
 the republic being-oppressed, had-devoted myself to-the senate,  
 quem acceperam extinctum,  
 (the power of) which I-had-perceived (was nearly) extinguished,  
 Romanis equitibus, quorum vires  
 (I also had devoted myself) to the Roman knights, whose powers  
 erant debiles, bonis viris, qui abjecerant  
 were weak, (likewise) to-good men, who had-renounced  
 omnem auctoritatem armis Clodianis,  
 all authority (by reason of) the arms (of) Clodius,  
 putarem præsidium bonorum unquam  
 could-I-think (that) the protection (and-aid) of-the-good 'would ever  
 defuturum mihi? Ego quum (enim sæpissime  
 'be-wanting to-me? I when (for 'he very-often  
 loquitur cum me,) reddissem te patriæ,  
 'converses with me,) I-had-restored you (to your) country,  
 putarem in patriâ non futurum  
 could-I think (that) in (my) country 'there-would not 'be  
 locum mihi? Ubi nunc est senatus, quem  
 a place for-me? Where now is the senate, which

*secuti sumus? ubi illi Romani equites, illi," inquit,*  
*we-have-followed? where those Roman knights, those," says-he,*

*"tui? ubi studia municipiorum? ubi voces*  
*"so much yours? where the zeal of-the-municipal-towns? where the voice*

*Italix? ubi denique illa tua vox atque*  
*of-Italy? where in-fine (is) that your voice and (eloquence in*

*defensio, M. Tulli, quæ fuit auxilio plurimis?*  
*defence, O M. Tullius, which brought assistance to-many?*

*potest ne ea nihil opitulari mihi soli, qui*  
*can then that-voice 'bring no 'assistance to-me alone, who*

*toties obtuli me morti pro te?"*  
*have-so-often offered myself to-death for you?"*

**35. Nec vero, judices, hæc, ut ego**  
*Nor indeed, O judges, (does he say) those-things, as I*

**nunc flens, sed loquitur hoc eodem vultu,**  
*now (do) weeping, but he-speaks (them) with-this same countenance,*

**quo videtis. Enim negat,**  
*with-which 'you (now) 'see (him). For he-denies, he (indeed*

**negat se fecisse, quæ fecerit civibus**  
*positively) denies (that) he did, what he-performed for citizens*

**ingratis; non negat**  
*(who were) ungrateful; 'he does not deny (that those things may*

**timidis et circumspicientibus omnia**  
*have been done) for-the-timid and for-those-contemplating every*

**pericula. Commemorat plebem, et infimum**  
*danger. He-states (that) the common-people, and the-lowest*

**multitudinem, quæ, P. Clodio duce,**  
*multitude (or rabble), which, P. Clodius (being their) leader;*

**imminebat vestris fortunis, se fecisse**  
*threatened your fortunes, (that) he had-acted-on (and so treated)*

**eam, quo vestrâ vitâ esset tutior, ut non**  
*this-multitude, whereby your life might-be more-safe, so-that not*

**modò flecteret virtute, sed etiam**  
*only he-bent (and ruled it) 'by (his) 'courage, but also*

**deleniret suis tribus patrimoniis;**  
*he-tamed (and won it) (by spending) his three patrimonies*

**nec timet, quum placaret**  
*(left to him); nor does-he-fear, when he-may-have-pacified (and secured)*

plebem muneribus, ne non conciliarit vos  
 the common-people 'by (his) 'presents, but-that he-would-conciliate you  
 singularibus meritis in rempublicam. Dicit  
 'by-his 'singular services in the republic. 'He 'says  
 benevolentiam senatûs erga se, his ipsis  
 (that) the good-will of-the-senate towards himself, in-these same  
 temporibus, sæpe esse perspectam, se verò  
 times, 'has often been 'experienced, (that) he indeed  
 ablaturum esse cum se vestras occurrantiones,  
 would-carry with him your attentive-and-complimentary-calls,  
 studia, sermones, et vestrorum ordinum  
 (your) zeal, (and) discourses, and (that) of-your order  
 quemcunque cursum fortuna dederit. Etiam  
 in whatever route fortune may-designate (for him). 'He also  
 meminit vocem præconis modò defuisse sibi,  
 mentions (that) the voice of-the-herald alone was-wanting to-him  
 quam desiderarit minime, verò  
 (to be declared consul), which he-desired but-little, for-indeed  
 cunctis suffragiis populi quod unum cupierit,  
 (it was) by the entire votes of-the-people which alone he-desired,  
 se declaratum consulem; nunc denique, si  
 (that) he had-been-declared consul; now in-fine, if  
 hæc sint futura contra se, suspicionem  
 these-things may-be hereafter against him, (that) the suspicion  
 facinoris, non crimen facti obstare sibi.  
 of-crime, not the crime of-commission would-stand-against him.  
 Addit hæc, quæ sunt certe vera, fortes et  
 He-adds these-things, which are certainly true, (that) brave and  
 sapientes viros non tam solere sequi  
 wise men 'are not so-much 'accustomed to-follow (and seek after)  
 præmia factorum recte, quàm facta ipsæ  
 the rewards of-deeds done-well, as (to seek) the deeds themselves  
 bene; se fecisse nihil in vitâ, nisi  
 done well. (that) he had-done nothing in (his) life, unless  
 præclarissime si quidem sit nihil  
 (what was) most-honourable if indeed there-may-be nothing  
 præstabilius viro,  
 [there is any thing] better, (or more preferable) for-a-man,



quàm liberare partiam periculis; esse  
than to-deliver (his) country from-dangers; (that those) are

beatos, quibus ea res fuerit honori a suis civibus,  
happy, to-whom this thing brought honour from their fellow-citizens,

nec tamen eos miseros, qui vicerint suos  
nor however (that) those are-miserable, who have-surpassed their

cives beneficio;

fellow-citizens in-good-deeds (and who have not been rewarded therefor);

sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si  
but however from-among all the rewards of-virtue, if (any)

ratio habenda esset præmiorum amplissimum  
regard was-to-be-had (to) rewards (that) the-most-ample

præmium esse gloriam; esse  
(and honourable) reward was glory; (that) it-was

hanc unam quæ consolaretur brevitatem vitæ,  
this-glory alone that might-console (us for) the shortness of-life,

memoriâ posteritatis, quæ efficeret, ut absentes  
by-the-recollection of-posterity, which effects, that absent

adessemus, mortui viveremus; denique  
we-may-be-present, (that) dead we-may-be-alive; in-fine (that)

esse hanc, gradibus cujus homines etiam viderentur  
it-is this, by-the-steps of-which men even seem

ascendere in cœlum. "De me," inquit, "Romanus  
to ascend to heaven. "Of me," says-he, "the Roman

populus omnes gentes semper loquentur,  
people (and) all nations 'will continually 'speak,

nulla vetustas unquam obmutescet.  
no remote-age 'will ever 'be-silent (concerning me).

Quin hoc tempore ipso, quum omnes faces  
But-even at-this time itself, when all the firebrands

invidiæ meæ subiciantur, a meis  
of-envy (and hatred) (of) me are-thrown-at (me), by my

inimicis, tamen celebramur in omni cœtu  
enemies, yet-however we [I am] are celebrated in every company

hominum, agendis gratiis, et habendis gratulationibus.  
of-men, by-returning thanks, and having congratulations

et omni sermone. Omitto  
(among themselves), and by-every-kind (of) discourse. I-omit

festos dies Etruriæ, et actos et institutos,  
the festival days of-Etruria, both celebrated and instituted

hæc est centesima lux  
(on account of the death of Clodius); this is the hundredth light

et, opinor, altera, ab interitu P. Clodii;  
[day] and, (as) I-believe, the second, since the death of-P. Clodius;

qua fines Romani populi sunt, ea non  
as-far-as the boundaries of-the Roman people extend, so-far not

solum fama de illo, sed etiam lætitia  
only the report of this death, but also the joy (thereat)

jam peragravit. Quamobrem," inquit, "ubi  
'has already 'extended. Wherefore," says he, "where

hoc corpus sit, non laboro, quoniam  
this body (of mine) may-be, 'I-am not 'concerned, because

gloria mei nominis, et jam versatur, et semper  
the glory of-my name, both now is, and 'will always

habitabit in omnibus terris."  
'dwell in all countries."

36. Hæc, Milo, tu sæpe cum me,  
These-things, O Milo, you have often (conversed of) with me,

his absentibus; sed, iisdem  
those (here now present) being-absent; but, these-same (persons)

audientibus, ego hæc cum te:  
listening, I (will converse of) these (following things) with you:

possum non satis quidem laudare te, quum es  
'I-can not sufficiently indeed 'praise you, when you-are

isto animo; sed quò ista virtus est magis  
of-this mind; but in-as-much-as this virtue is more

divina, eò majore dolore divellor a te.  
divine, 'by so-much 'the greater grief I-am-separated from you.

Nec verò, si eriperis mihi, est  
Nor indeed, if 'you (are made to) 'depart (from) me, is

tamen illa querela ad consolandum, ut possim  
in-fine that complaint (left) for consoling (me), that I-may

irasci his, a quibus accipero tantum  
become-angry with-those from whom I-shall-have-received so-great

vulnus. Enim non mei inimici eripient te  
a wound. For not my enemies will-snatch you (from)

**mihi**, sed amicissimi, non aliquando  
 me, but my-greatest-friends, not (those who) at-any-time (may)

meriti male de me, sed semper  
 have deserved ill of me, but (those, who have) always (deserved)

optime. Judices, inuretis nullum tantum  
 the best. 'You-will O judges, 'inlict no such-great

dolorem mihi unquam, (etsi quis potest  
 grief (on) me at-any-time, (although what (grief) can

esse tantus) sed ne quidem hunc ipsum  
 be so-great (as this), but not indeed this same, (so)

ut obliviscar quanti semper feceritis  
 that I-may-forget of-how-much 'you-have always 'made

me. Si quæ oblivio  
 me. [How much you have always esteemed me.] If which forgetfulness

cepit vos, aut si offendistis  
 (of this esteem) has-possessed you, or if you-have-been-offended

aliquid in me, cur non id  
 at-any-thing in me, why 'is not (the punishment for) it

luitur meo capite potius, quàm Milonis? Enim  
 'inflicted on-my head rather, than (that) of-Milo? For

vixero præclare, si quid accideret mihi  
 I-shall have lived perfectly-well, if any-thing should-happen to-me

prius, quàm videro hoc tantum  
 (if I should die) before, that I-shall-have-seen this so-much

mali. Nunc una consolatio  
 of-evil. [Such great evil befall him.] Now one consolation

sustentat me, quòd tibi T. Anni, defuit a  
 sustains me, that to-you O T. Anniius, there-was-wanting by

me nullum officium amoris, nullum studii,  
 me [on my part] no duty of-love, none of-zeal,

nullum pietatis. Ego pro te appetivi  
 none of-attachment. I 'have for you 'sought

inimicitias potentium, ego sæpe objeci meum  
 the enmities of-the-powerful, I 'have often 'opposed my

corpus et vitam armis tuorum inimicorum, ego  
 body and life to-the-arms of-your enemies, I

abjeci me supplicem plurimis pro te, contuli  
 have-thrown myself (as) a suppliant to-many for you, I-have

bona, meas fortunas ac meorum  
brought (my) property, my fortunes and (those) of-my  
liberorum in communionem tuorum temporum;  
children in participation of-your times; [to share

denique hoc ipso die, si qua vis  
your misfortune;] in-fine on this same day, if any violence

est parata, si futura qua dimicatio  
is prepared (against you), if there-is-to-be any contest

capitis, deponco. Quid restat jam? quid  
of-life, I-demand (to share it). What remains now? what

habeo quod faciam pro tuis meritis in me, nisi  
have-I that I-can-do for your services to me, unless

ut quæcunque erit tua ducam eam  
that whatever may-be your (fortune) I-may-consider that

fortunam meam? Non abnuo, non recuso,  
fortune mine? 'I-do not 'reject, 'I-do not 'refuse (this),

que obsero vos, iudices, ut aut augeatis vestra  
and I-entreat you, O judges, that 'you either 'add-to your

beneficia, quæ contulistis in me, salute  
benefits, which you-have-conferred on me, by-the-safety

hujus, aut videatis occasura esse  
of-this-man, or you-may consider (that these benefits) will-fall

in exitio ejusdem.  
(and be obliterated) in the destruction of-this-same-man.

37. Milo non movetur his lacrimis. Est  
Milo 'is not 'moved by-these tears. He-is-in

quodam incredibili robore animi; putat  
[he has] a certain incredible strength of-mind; he-considers (that)

exsilium esse ibi, ubi non sit locus virtuti;  
banishment is there, where 'there-may not 'be a place for-virtue;

mortem esse finem naturæ, non pœnam. Sed  
(that) death is the end of-nature, not a punishment. But

hic est eâ mente, qua natus est; quid  
he is in that (noble state of) mind, in which he-was-born; what

vos, iudices? quo animo tandem  
do you, O judges (think)? in-what mind 'will-you in-fine

eritis? Retinebitis memoriam Milonis, ejicietis  
be? Will-you-retain the memory of Milo, (and) banish

ipsum? et erit ullus dignior locus in terris  
 himself? and will-there-be any more-worthy place on the earth  
 qui excipiat hanc virtutem, quàm hic, qui  
 which might-receive this virtue, than this, which  
 procreavit? Vos, vos, fortissimi viri appello,  
 produced (it)? You, you, O-most-brave men 'I (now) 'address,  
 qui effudistis multum sanguinem pro republica;  
 who have-shed much blood for the republic  
 appello vos in periculo viri, et in  
 I-address you in (the time of) danger of-a-man, and in (that)

invicti civis, vos centuriones que milites;  
 of-an-invincible citizen, you O centurions and (you) O soldiers,  
 vobis non modò inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis,  
 you not only looking-on, but also armed,  
 et præsidentibus huic judicio, hæc tanta virtus  
 and protecting this court, 'shall this so-great virtue  
 expelletur, exterminabitur, projicietur ex hac urbe?  
 'be-expelled, be-banished, be-thrown-out from this city?

O me miserum, O me infelicem! Tu potuisti revocare  
 O me miserable, O me unhappy! You could recall  
 me, Milo, in patriam per hos, ego non  
 me, O Milo, to my-country through these (men), 'shall I not  
 potero retinere te in patriâ per eosdem?  
 'be-able to retain you in (your) country through the same (persons)?

Quid respondebo meis liberis, qui putant te alterum  
 What shall-I-reply to-my children, who consider you a second  
 parentem? Quid tibi frater Quinte, qui  
 parent? What (shall I say) to-you O brother Quintus, who

nunc abes, consorti cum me illorum temporum?  
 'are now 'absent, a companion with me (in) these times

ne me potuisset non tueri salutem  
 (of my trouble)? (that) I-could not have-preserved the safety

Milonis per eosdem, per quos ille servasset  
 of-Milo through the same-persons, by whom he had-preserved  
 nostram? At in quâ causâ potuisset non?  
 our (safety)? But in what cause could-I not (do this)?

quæ est grata gentibus. **A**  
 ,in a cause) which is agreeable to 'all) nations (and people). **By**



quibus potuisse not? ab iis, qui acquirerunt maxime  
whom could-I not? by those, who 'have-obtained the greatest

morte P. Clodii; quo deprecante? me.  
'repose by-the-death of P. Clodius; who entreating? I

Quodnam tantum scelus ego concepi, aut quod  
What such-great wickedness have I 'meditated, or what

tantum facinus admissi in me,  
such atrocious-crime have-I-admitted in me, [have I committed]

judices, quum indagavi, patefeci, protuli illa  
O judges, when I-traced, laid-open, and brought-to (light) those

indicia communis exitii, extinxi?  
signs of-common destruction, (and) I-destroyed (the conspiracy of

Omnes dolores redundant  
Catiline which they indicated)? All my afflictions overflow

ex illo fonte in me que meos.  
(and spring) from that fountain on me and my (friends)

Quid voluistis me esse reducem?  
Why have-you-wished (that) I (should) be a restored person (to my

an ut, me inspectante, ii expellerent.  
country)? whether that, I looking on, those might-be-expelled

per quos essem restitutus? Nolite,  
(from their country) by whom I-was restored (to it)? Do-not

obscero vos, pati reditum esse acerbiorum mihi  
I-entreat you, suffer (my) return to-be more-harsh to-me

quam fuerit ille discessus ipse. Nam  
than was that departure (and banishment) itself. For

qui possum putare me restitutum esse  
how can-I think (that) I have-been-restored (to my country)

si distrahar ab iis, per quos restitutus sum?  
if I-am separated from those, by whom I-have-been-restored (to it)?

38. Utiam immortales dei fecissent  
Would the immortal gods had-caused

(dixerim tuâ pace,  
(may-I-have-said-this in your peace, [with your permission and without

patria; enim metuo, ne dicam  
offence] O (my) country; for I-fear, lest I-may-say (something)

scelerate in te, quod dicam pie pro Milone)  
wickedly as-respects you, which I-may-say piously for Milone)

**vultam** P. Clodius non modò viveret, sed etiam  
 would (that) P. Clodius not only might-live, but also  
 esset prætor, consul, dictator potius, quam viderem  
 'might-be prætor, consul, dictator rather, than I-should-see  
 hoc spectaculum. O immortales dii! fortem! et  
 this spectacle. O immortal gods! O brave man! and

**virum** conservandum a vobis, iudices! "minime,  
 a man (who) ought-to-be-preserved by you, O judges! "not-all,

**minime,"** inquit. "Immo vero ille luerit  
 not-all," says-he [Milo]. "Rather indeed 'may he 'suffer (his)

debitas pœnas; nos subeamus, si ita est necesse,  
 merited punishments; we will undergo, if so it-is necessary,

**non debitas."** Hiccine vir natus  
 (punishments) not merited." Is-it-that this man born for (his)

patriæ usquam morietur, nisi in patriâ, aut,  
 country 'should ever 'die, unless in (his) country, or,

si forte, pro patriâ; vos retinebitis monumenta  
 if by-chance, for (his) country; you will-retain the monuments

animi, patiemini nullum sepulcrum  
 of his mind (and courage), (but) you-suffer no sepulchre

corporis esse in Italiam? Quisquam expellet  
 (for his) body to-be in Italy? 'Will any-one 'expel

hunc suâ sententiâ ex hac urbe, quem expulsam  
 this-man by-his vote from this city, whom banished

a vobis omnes urbes vocabunt ad se? O illam  
 by you all the cities will-invite to themselves? O that

beatam terram, quæ exceperit hunc virum; hanc  
 happy country, which shall-have-received this man; O this

ingratam si ejecerit, miseram si  
 ungrateful (country) if it-should-cast-him-forth, O miserable if

amiserit! Sed sit finis. Neque enim  
 it-should lose (him)! But let-there-be an end. Nor indeed

possum jam loqui præ lacrimis, et hic vetat  
 can-I now speak for tears, and he [Milo] forbids (that)

se defendi lacrimis. Oro que obtestor vos, iudices,  
 he be-defended by-tears. I-pray and entreat you, O judges,

ut in ferendis sententiis, quod sentietis, id  
 that in giving (your) votes, that-which you-may-think, that

audeatis. Credite mihi, is maxime  
 dare-to-do. Believe me, (that) he [Pompey] 'will greatly  
 probabit vestram virtutem, justitiam fidem, qui,  
 'approve your virtue, justice and good-faith, who,  
 in legendis judicibus, delegit quemque optimum, et  
 in selecting judges, selected each-one the best, and  
 sapientissimum, et fortissimum.  
 most-wise, and most-brave (and fearless).

THE END

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